The Outlook

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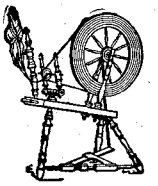

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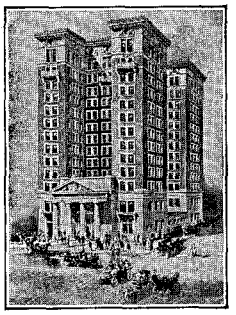

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, APRIL 6, 1907

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The Ohio Primary Campaign

The issue joined in Ohio between Senator Foraker and the friends of Secretary Taft indicates that the country will have two opportunities to pass on the question whether the Federal Government shall exercise any supervision and control over the railways or not. Senator Foraker is a candidate in that State for re-election to the United States Senate. He is also a candidate for the Republican nomination to the Presidency. He is probably the ablest, he is certainly the most open and the most distinguished, of the anti-Roosevelt Republicans. In a published statement to the public he has offered a characteristic challenge to the Roosevelt Republicans of Ohio. It is said (how correct the report we do not know) that this challenge followed his proposal to support Secretary Taft's candidacy for the Presidency if Secretary Taft would support his candidacy for the Senate, and Secretary Taft refused to make any bargain or enter into any alliance. The report is reasonable, since refusal to make political bargains has always been characteristic of Secretary Taft. Senator Foraker's challenge is as follows:

> I do not want any political honors from the Republicans of Ohio without their hearty approval. In order that there may be no doubt as to their preferences, I shall at the proper time request the Republican State Central Committee to issue a call for a Republican State convention, to be composed of delegates elected by the Republicans of the State at duly authorized primary elections, for the purpose not only of nominating candidates for State offices to be voted for at our next State election, but also to determine the preference of the Republicans of Ohio as to candidates for United States Senator and for President.

To this challenge Secretary Taft has made no reply. He has gone off to Cuba to attend to his duties and the Nation's interests there, leaving Ohio politics to Ohio politicians. But the challenge has been accepted by Secretary Taft's brother, an Ohio editor, in the following terms:

> Senator Foraker's statement indicates that he is running for the Presidency and for the Senatorship. The friends of Secretary Taft are urging him for the Presidency. As the Senator has included the two offices in this primary contest, Secretary Taft's friends accept the proposition and will make it a distinct contest—Taft for the Presidency or Senatorship, or Foraker for the Presidency or Senatorship.

If the surmise of the New York Times correspondent is correct, and Senator Foraker expected to divide the forces opposed to him by offering himself as an alternative candidate for two offices, while his opponents would have Mr. Burton for their Senatorial candidate and Mr. Taft for their Presidential candidate, a condition which would give good opportunities for trading, he has been disappointed. Both men are put in the running for both offices, and trading is out of the question. And it is certain that such a primary election will crystallize the Roosevelt and anti-Roosevelt sentiment in all the States, with a great probability that Secretary Taft will be the leading candidate on the one side and Senator Foraker on the other.

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A Forecast of the National Issue

The issue thus joined is not a merely personal one. It is a very clear issue between two conflicting policies. Secretary Taft is known to have been the President's constitutional adviser during the entire development of his railway policy, to believe in both the constitutionality and the expediency of railway rate regulation by the Federal Government, to have advised that under the decisions of the Supreme Court the Congress may not only regulate the rates, but, within certain

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defined limits, may delegate the power to determine whether any given rate is according to the standard which Congress has prescribed. He is known also to be a conservative rather than a radical advocate of that view, and to have favored providing in the bill for the possibility of a review by the courts of the Inter-State Commerce Commission's decisions. Senator Foraker, on the other hand, in his speech of last March took ground against the railway rate regulation bill in its entirety. He recognized the injustice of discriminations, whether between individuals or between localities, but maintained that the existing law afforded sufficient protection against such injustice. And he claimed that any attempt by Congress to regulate the rates charged by the railways was unconstitutional and would be held to be so by the United States Supreme Court. Of all the opponents of the railway policy of the President he is the most pronounced, and is therefore the logical candidate for all those who believe in leaving the railways without governmental supervision. Secretary Taft, on the other hand, is the most natural candidate of those who desire to see the Presidential policy maintained. Whichever of these candidates carries Ohio will stand a very good chance of carrying the National Convention, and failing in that will be morally sure to represent Ohio in the Senate. If Senator Foraker should secure the Republican nomination for the Presidency, the issue two years from now will be between governmental regulation and perhaps tariff revision, represented by some Democratic candidate, and a return to the old policy of *laissez faire* represented by Mr. Foraker. If Secretary Taft should be nominated, the question before the country would be, Into whose hands will the country intrust tariff revision and governmental regulation of railways? since Mr. Taft is known to believe in both, and represents those Republicans who believe in both. It is for these reasons that we say that the issue joined in Ohio between Senator Foraker and the friends of Secretary Taft indicates that the country will have two opportunities to pass on the question whether the Federal Government shall exercise any supervision and control over the railways or not: first, an opportunity within the Republican party, and then, should railway rate regulation be defeated there, a second opportunity in the general Presidential election upon the issue joined between the Republican and the Democratic parties.

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The Moyer-Haywood Trial

After numerous delays and legal skirmishes it appears probable that Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone, officials of the Western Federation of Miners accused of complicity in the murder of former Governor Steunenberg, of Idaho, will be tried next month. The petition of the prisoners for a change of venue on the ground of prejudice was denied, and Boise was named as the city in which the trial will take place. Interest in this trial has been intensified recently, partly through the agitation of friends of the accused, and partly through the trial at Wallace, Idaho, a short time ago, of Steve Adams, supposed to be a member of the "inner circle" of the Western Federation of Miners. Adams was tried for the murder of Fred Tyler, a "claim jumper" in Shoshone County, in 1905. The trial, which resulted in a disagreement, was the result of a confession made by Adams while confined in a penitentiary at Boise with Harry Orchard. Orchard is the man who confessed to placing the bomb which killed Steunenberg, and in his confession implicated Adams, as well as Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone. In another part of this issue of The Outlook is an article dealing with the assassination of Steunenberg, and giving an account of the arrest of the accused men and the subsequent efforts made by them to regain their liberty. The article was written before Adams was brought to trial. The general line of defense to be used in the coming trial was partly disclosed during the hearing of the Adams case. On the witness-stand Adams testified that the confession he made while in Boise penitentiary was obtained from him by detectives and State officials on the promise of immunity from punishment if he would only corroborate the confes-

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sion of Orchard and help convict Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone. He testified that Warden Whitney said to him, "You are a good fellow, and if you do right by the State the State will do right by you." He declared that when he was arrested by the sheriff of Shoshone County on orders from Governor Gooding, the sheriff said to him, "I have got inside information that if you tell what you know you will come out all right." Detective McParland, who obtained the confession from both Orchard and Adams, testified on the stand that he plied Adams with drinks and good cigars and that when he was "mellow" the confession was obtained. Adams on the witness-stand swore that the confession was untrue, and that he only partially knew the contents of the document when he signed it. The trial of Adams is interesting only because of its bearing on the more important trial. The defense tried to prove an alibi, and witnesses were produced who swore that Adams was distant from the scene of the murder on the date when the State alleged it was committed. After the defense had been heard the State asked permission to recall its chief witness to fix more definitely the date of the murder. The defense objected, and was sustained by the court, thus strengthening the alibi of Adams. The jury divided evenly, six standing for conviction and six for acquittal at the end of thirty-six hours' deliberation. The attorneys who defended Adams are the same retained in the other case, and they declare that the evidence in the Adams trial tended to prove their contention that a conspiracy exists on the part of the State officials and mine-owners to send Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone to the gallows, guilty or innocent. The legal proceedings taken on behalf of the accused men since their arrest in February, 1906, have cost the Western Federation of Miners about $65,000, and the trial has not yet begun. The Legislature of Idaho appropriated $50,000 to bring to justice the murderers of Steunenberg. This action of the State makes it certain that a great legal battle will be fought to establish the guilt or innocence of the accused men.

A Threatened Railway Strike

Labor conditions on railways west of Chicago became suddenly acute last week. The employees demanded an increase of wages and a decrease of hours; the companies felt themselves unable to grant the demands. The employees, through their organizations, then threatened a strike which would tie up at least fifty thousand miles of railway—an action which, at a time when transportation facilities are already glaringly inadequate, would bring disaster to the railways and to the public, and involve the wages of a great army of men. The railway managers asked the Federal Government that the arbitration law passed in 1898 be enforced to prevent the strike, if possible. This act provides means for settling disputes between common carriers and their employees on request of one of the parties. As applied to the present situation, the law provides that the railways may ask Mr. Knapp, Chairman of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, and Dr. Neill, Commissioner of Labor in the Department of Commerce and Labor, to "use their best efforts by mediation and conciliation" between the employers and the employees amicably to settle the dispute. If these officers fail in the task, then the act provides that the common carrier and the organization of strikers may each appoint an arbiter, and the two select a third; if they cannot agree on a third, Chairman Knapp and Dr. Neill shall select the third, and the decision of this commission so formed shall be "valid and binding," and shall have the effect of a bill of exceptions when filed in the United States Circuit Court in the district where the controversy arose or where the arbitration is entered into, and shall be final for both sides unless set aside for error of law apparent in the record. Both sides must faithfully execute the award; employees dissatisfied with it may not quit the service of their employer before three months after the award has been made without giving thirty days' notice of their intention; nor may the employer, dissatisfied with the award, dismiss employees before the expiration of three months without giving thirty

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days' notice. If not thus set aside, the awards continue in force for a year, and no new arbitration upon the same subject between "the same employer and the same class of employees" may be had until the expiration of a year. This law has been on the statute-books almost a decade. It was first invoked by the Southern Pacific Railway Company on the occasion of the Texas strike; a few weeks ago it was again invoked by the same company when confronted with demands from telegraphers which threatened to tie up the entire system. The arbitrators are now in session in San Francisco, trying to settle the dispute. It is interesting to note that all the appeals which have been made invoking this law have come from the managers of the railways involved in the various controversies.

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A Victory for the Great Northern Railway

An important decision favorably affecting the Great Northern Railway and unfavorably affecting the movement in several States to regulate railways by State commissions has just been unanimously made by the Supreme Court of Minnesota. As reported very fully a month ago in these pages, the Attorney-General of Minnesota sought to enjoin the Great Northern from issuing $60,000,000 of additional stock, on the ground that the law explicitly directed that such an issue could be made only with the consent of the State Railroad and Warehouse Commission. Under the statute the railway was required to file its application with the Commission showing the necessity for the additional capital, and stating in detail the purposes for which the proceeds were to be used. The Great Northern declined to comply with these conditions, and the Commission refused its consent for the issuance of the stock. The County Court sustained the Attorney-General; the Supreme Court of the State has reversed that decision, and, all the judges concurring, declares that the statute giving the Railroad Commission the power thus to regulate the capitalization of railways is unconstitutional. The Legislature, says the Court, may by statute impose the "terms, conditions, and limitations" under which new railway capital may be issued; it may create a commission to find the facts and to determine whether the new stock is issued in conformity to the statute; but it may not delegate to a commission what is really the legislative power of determining the "terms, limitations, and conditions." That is to say, the Legislature may enact in statute that no new capital may be issued by a railway corporation of the State for the purpose of buying the stock of another railway corporation, but it may not leave to the Commission the discretion of determining whether such a use of new capital is advantageous to the State and may be permitted, or disadvantageous and forbidden. Such a unanimous decision of such a court is not to be treated lightly, and is distinctly an important victory for the Great Northern Railway. We shall not, however, consider the principle settled that a legislature may not by statute make the approval of a specially created board of experts one of the constitutional "terms, conditions, and limitations" of the issuance of capital until the Minnesota decision has been reviewed and confirmed by other courts—possibly ultimately by the United States Supreme Court. Should this position of the Minnesota court be sustained in other States or by the United States Supreme Court, the growing and, we believe, on the whole the wholesome tendency to exercise government regulation of public utilities through small boards of experts would be definitely checked.

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"The Kingdom"

Of the two oratorios which were performed by the Oratorio Society under the direction of the composer, Sir Edward Elgar, in New York, on the 19th and 26th of March, "The Apostles" had been heard before in that city, and had been conducted by the composer at Cincinnati. Some account of it was given in The Outlook on both occasions. It is enough here to recall that it deals with the calling of the Apostles, their association with their Master and their testing at the time of his death, that it is the presentation of

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the subject in a dramatic form, and that it not only utilizes a great chorus, solo voices, and full modern orchestra, but also adapts to the oratorio in many respects the form and devices which Wagner established for the opera or music-drama. "The Kingdom" is the second in what may be called a cycle of oratorios on the same subject. It begins where "The Apostles" ends. Its central event is Pentecost. The hearer who listens sympathetically will seem to be sharing the meditations and emotions of a devout Catholic who, divesting his mind of the externals of ecclesiasticism, is contemplating, in the light of ecclesiastical teaching and tradition, the origins of the Church. The words supply, as it were, the framework of thought. The music creates the atmosphere of feeling. At times the emotion is dramatic. In "The Apostles" this dramatic element is, so to speak, visualized. The voice of Judas, for instance, utters his remorse while the temple chorus is heard singing one of the imprecatory psalms; and as he thinks on what he has done, his despair is molded by the psalm he hears. In "The Kingdom," on the other hand, the dramatic element is, so to speak, more subjective. For example, when Peter, addressing the multitude, declares, "Let all the house of Israel know assuredly that God hath made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified," there is borne upon the voices of the chorus the sentence, "His blood be on us and on our children," and upon a solitary voice the words of Christ bidding the daughters of Jerusalem to weep not for themselves but for their children. It is as if the words of Peter had awakened in the multitude, or rather as if the devout contemplator of the scene would recall to the multitude, the bitter, reckless words of the mob and the warning of its victim. There is in this case no pictured external reality—as in the case of the temple choir; the voices are but a memory; the dramatic contrast is wholly within the mind. Another instance may be cited. When the Apostles in prison recall that Jesus had said that some of his disciples would be crucified, the orchestra sounds the chords associated with Peter, thus calling to mind the Church tradition that Peter's death was by crucifixion. The music of "The Kingdom" is, as it should be, formed largely out of the same thematic material as that of its predecessor. It is, as is befitting the character of the oratorio, more contemplative. Yet contrasts abound. At times there is but a thread of sound, at times a veritable web of beauty. At the close of each performance Sir Edward was enthusiastically recalled three or four times. As at the performance of Pierné's great work, "The Children's Crusade," the audience was not as large as it ought to have been. The people accustomed to attend musical performances in New York have lately been engrossed in the relative merits of various orchestral conductors, and in the contest between rival opera impresarios and their cohorts of singers. It seems as if they were more concerned about the personality of performers than absorbed in the music produced. Nevertheless, both audiences were large.

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Sir Edward Elgar's Music

This is the third time that Sir Edward Elgar has visited the United States. The first time he came to receive an honorary degree from Yale; the second time he came to conduct certain of his own compositions at the Cincinnati May Music Festival. It is Sir Edward Elgar's distinction that he has interested the musical public of all the world in English music. Now, beside d'Indy and Debussy of France, Strauss, Reger, and Mahler of Germany, Boito and Puccini of Italy, England can rightfully place Sir Edward Elgar. It has been said that Sir Edward is the first great composer that England has produced since Purcell, who lived in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Of his compositions Professor Edward Dickinson, in his admirable volume "The Study of the History of Music," writes that they "indicate a technical knowledge of the highest order in counterpoint and orchestration, as well as a prolific vein of melody." Yet instruction in the technique of composition Sir Edward practically never received. The son of the organist of St. George's Roman Catholic

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Church in Worcester, he obtained his knowledge of the theory of music incidentally to its practice. There have been other composers who have, like him, owed their mastery of their medium less to books and teachers than to practical experience with instruments and voices. As to his vein of melody, there are critics who have not discovered it. One newspaper writer, for instance, describes his oratorio "The Apostles" as marked by "hopeless dullness" and "unutterable insipidity," and Sir Edward himself as near the front in the competition for "unmelodiousness." Each to his taste. There are hearers of Elgar's music, on the other hand, who find themselves haunted by his themes, and who feel in his music that indescribable something that marks it as his and no one else's—the expression, as it were, of a musical personality. In any case it is clear that the music of Sir Edward Elgar, though it elicits all sorts of comments, arouses anything but indifference.

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Sir Edward Elgar's Personality

The man whose musical compositions have been the subject of world-wide discussion and even controversy is temperamentally at the farthest remove from the sensationalist. He has no love for publicity. One can well imagine his desire to work in retirement and offer the product of his pen to such as will hear. On the other hand, he is not beset by that form of vanity which drives some men from their fellows and makes them conspicuous by their seclusion. He is a man of very definite and decided views, whether they concern English politics or his own art. In spite of the apparently revolutionary character of some of his compositions, he is of conservative temper. He has no philosophy of music to expound, no musical prophecy to utter. In spite of his success in creating descriptive music, he does not belong among those apostles of the art who would make it representative like painting or sculpture. To him so-called programme music is a by-path in the musical highway. He is a man of many interests, and has the none too common gift of the sense of humor. A sketch of Sir Edward, with portrait, was published in the Magazine Number of The Outlook for last October.

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Pobiedonostzeff

The death of Constantine Pobiedonostzeff, ex-Procurator-General of the Holy Synod of the Russian Church, may have a material effect on the political fortunes of Russia. Dr. Andrew D. White, in his autobiography, gives a very interesting account of this man of extraordinary contradictions. Scholarly, with a mind interested in all theological and socialistic points of view, recognizing the shortcomings of his own Church, interested in American institutions and American literature, translator of Thomas à Kempis's "Imitation of Christ," especially fond of Ralph Waldo Emerson's writings, so that "for years there had always laid open upon his study table a volume of Emerson's writings," one volume of which he had also translated, sensitive to beauty in literature, art, and ceremonial, and kindly and gentle in his personal relations—such are the facts that present one side of his nature. Upon the other side he was a thoroughgoing mediævalist, considered all Western civilization a failure, anticipated an early collapse in the systems and institutions of western Europe, regarded Socialism and Anarchism as the natural fruits of democracy, and atheism and irreligion as the inevitable results of religious liberty; he opposed, with a conscientious cruelty which won for him the title "the Torquemada of the nineteenth century," all that which we count progress in America; abhorred the free school, the free church, the free press, freedom of assemblage and debate; regarded the Established Church of the Empire as the only true form of Christianity; and pursued, upon conviction, a repressive policy toward all other forms of religion, and especially toward the Jews, with a kind of holy vindictiveness. He was the chief religious if not also the chief political adviser of the Czar—certainly the imperial conscience, apparently also the imperial intelligence. His relation to the Czar appears to have been somewhat analogous to that of the

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cardinals of France to the kings of the seventeenth century. It may be hoped that with his death some counselor with a little more of the spirit of the twentieth century may get the ear of the Czar. But it is to be feared that the Czar has already been cast in the Pobiedonostzeff mold, and the breaking of the mold will not produce any change in the cast.

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Agrarian Unrest in Russia

Individual inefficiency, landlord absenteeism, and oppressive taxation are responsible for much of the peasants' suffering in eastern Europe. The fact that the land does not produce what it ought is largely due to the system by which peasants have exhausted the fertility of the soil which they have tilled either for the commune or for some absentee landlord. The position of the peasant in eastern Europe is pitiable. If first of all he needs to know how to cultivate the land he has under his control, he also needs more land and better economic conditions. In Russia he sees millions of acres called Crown lands, Cabinet lands, Church lands; the income from the first going directly to the Emperor, that from the second supporting an enormously large Imperial family, that from the third supporting the too often indolent clergy. He also sees millions of acres of land owned by men whom he has never seen. The absentee owners of land are apt to live in great cities like Paris, thinking much of their own amusement and little of the distress of those who are working for them. These lands are farmed out to administrators; in some cases these administrators, supported by corrupt officials, demand excessive rents and impose conditions of practical servitude. Under these conditions and excessive taxation the peasants live in rotten huts and are now on the verge of starvation. The exportation of rye, the principal crop, and also of wheat from Russia has been large, but the past twelvemonth shows an alarming decline. The Russians need all they have and more. The Emperor and the bureaucrats, who oppose an extension of the people's power in Parliament, may remember that revolution has no surer friend than famine, and that, under any circumstances, the greatest of all questions in Russia is the agrarian.

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Agrarian Unrest in Rumania

What may be expected in Russia is now happening in Rumania, until half a century ago controlled by Russia. Agrarian conditions are similar in both countries. The Rumanian peasants have risen against the exactions and tyranny of the administrators of great estates and against the new taxes recently voted by Parliament. Marauding bands have pillaged and murdered, have destroyed the telegraph and telephone lines, and have attempted to hold up trains. But the army, by stern repression, has now apparently the upper hand. The Jews have suffered more than other people, because many Jewish shopkeepers are also managers of farms of absentee owners. But the estates of the landlords, controlling a trust which has leased half the cultivable land in North Rumania, were the first to be sacked. The King, an able and conscientious ruler, has issued a proclamation announcing the immediate suppression of some of the heavier taxes, declaring that many lands will be leased directly to the peasants, that no syndicate will be allowed to hold more than eight thousand acres, that the Government will facilitate the raising of money to pay rents, and will revise the terms of the agricultural agreements which at present practically enslave the peasantry. All this has not been accomplished without a Cabinet crisis. Premier Sturdza, who again takes the helm, was at the head of the Government from 1901 to 1905, and by rigid economy established his country's finances on a sound basis. He was unable, however, to reduce the debt per capita as much as it should be reduced; it is about twice the per capita debt of our own country. The Rumanian peasant is about as heavily taxed as the Russian peasant. It is not impossible that Russia may catch fire from Rumania. Such appears to be Premier Stolypin's opinion. He has ordered the governors of all the Russian provinces to prohibit the printing of any news concerning the Rumanian agrarian disorders. He well knows

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that absentee landlordism and oppressive taxation account for the Rumanian rising, and will account for any Russian rising that may take place.

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"Light Through Work"

The title of this paragraph is the motto, chosen by its blind members, of the New York Association for the Blind. The attention of readers of The Outlook has already been called to the beneficent and efficient work of this Association, which is now issuing an appeal for contributions to enable it to complete an endowment fund of $100,000. The work out of which the Association has grown was begun four years ago in a modest and unheralded way by two young ladies of this city in their own home, by distributing tickets for oratorios and other musical and dramatic performances. The idea was suggested, says the founder of the Association, by "seeing some small blind boys who were having a beautiful time at a concert in Italy." Over five thousand tickets have been distributed in this way from this private house. Through this personal friendliness for individual blind people these ladies became intimately acquainted with the deplorable condition of the adult blind in the State of New York. Out of these personal endeavors has grown the New York Association for the Blind, which is indorsed and directed by some of the most distinguished citizens of New York. Miss Helen Keller is an officer of the Association and actively interested in its success. At present the executive office of the Association is in the private house of the founders, who have veritably turned their home into a school for the blind. The primary object of the Association is not to amuse the blind, nor merely to train their capacity for communicating with their seeing fellowmen, but to train them to become self-supporting workers and producers. Classes are maintained in telephone switchboard operating, stenography and typewriting, lace-making, hand and machine manufacture of knitted and sewn garments for women and children, basket-weaving, artistic marketable bead-work, etc., etc. Blind of both sexes have been put in commercial positions. Blind men and women have even been trained to become telephone switchboard operators, and the telephone company, at first skeptical, has volunteered the information that these graduates of the school compare most favorably for efficiency with seeing operators. The work of the Association has so grown that it is in great need of two houses—one for the men's workshop, to give employment to forty men in chair-caning, broom-making, mattress-making, and willow-weaving, and the other for offices, class-rooms, club and meeting rooms, and women's commercial industrial work. Even with the present limited facilities a number of blind men and women have been kept from beggary and the poorhouse, and in addition have discovered a source of happiness they never knew before. They have been given "light through work." Full information about the Association, its achievements, its plans, and its needs may be obtained of the Secretary, Miss Winifred Holt, 44 East Seventy-eighth Street, New York City.

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Hale and Hearty at Eighty-Five

Two qualities in Dr. Edward Everett Hale, who celebrates his eighty-fifth birthday on Wednesday of this week, account for the extraordinary fertility of his mind, the vitality of his interests and occupations and their variety. From his early manhood Dr. Hale has not only had all kinds of irons in the fire, but he has kept them glowing. He has practiced several professions in an age in which specialization has become a fad that sometimes passes the line of sanity, and has succeeded on high lines in them. This many-sidedness is explained by one of his favorite maxims, "To look out and not in;" and it is this quality which has made it possible for the son who bears his name, and who shares generously in his ability, to write of him in perfect taste and with charming frankness and feeling in this week's issue of The Outlook. Dr. Hale has harmoniously combined the ethical passion of the religious teacher, the human feeling of the philanthropist, the

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quick sense of news-interest of the journalist, and the genius for expression of the man of letters. He belongs to a singularly interesting group of contemporaries. Among preachers he is to be counted with Dr. Robert Collyer and Theodore Cuyler, among writers with Mr. Charles Eliot Norton, Colonel Higginson, Mr. John Bigelow, and Mr. Trowbridge. Born in Boston, and a New Englander by all the ties of race and intellectual descent, Dr. Hale has been a man of National outlook and interests. Perhaps as much as any of his contemporaries he has embodied the American spirit, its regard for fine traditions of learning, character, and manners, its keen interest in its own time, its love for education, its passion for helpfulness, and its unshakable belief in the authority and the final triumph of right thinking, right speaking, and right living. As much as any American he has reverenced man, and that reverence is the root of his fine attitude of brotherliness. His distinctions have been many; he has won success in different fields. Probably no living American is more highly regarded by the whole Nation; but his chief distinction lies in his beautiful illustration of the democratic spirit at its highest, the spirit of universal helpfulness.

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The Function of the President

The well-informed correspondent of the Chicago Tribune has told our readers something about the current gossip in Washington concerning Presidential possibilities. Our readers have been admitted into the secret but not sacred conclave of the Washington politicians. It may be a little early yet to be considering Presidential possibilities. But it is never too early to consider what kind of a man the people need for President. They must consider carefully the function of the office before they can judge wisely of the candidates for that office.

The first duty of the President is to preserve order and enforce law. He must therefore have the courage to prosecute all lawbreakers and prevent all lawbreaking—whether by the mob attacking the railways or by the multimillionaire misusing them.

His second duty is to conduct efficiently the business of the Government. He must have the wisdom and the force to do things: to ferret out and expel corrupt officials, to see that the money appropriated by Congress is honestly and economically expended, that the mails are promptly carried, the public funds justly administered, the coast well lighted, the great banking operations of the Treasury Department conducted in the public interest, the dredging of the rivers and harbors and the digging of the Panama Canal efficiently carried on. In short, he must be a capable business man.

But this is not all. The President of the United States is not only its Chief Executive, he is also its Prime Minister. He is an important part of the legislative department of the Government. The framers of the Constitution recognized this fact in providing that "he shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." History has abundantly confirmed their wisdom. This provision has been ample to confer on him an important function in the deliberations of the legislative body.

The Congress is composed of members each one of whom is elected by a local constituency to represent primarily local interests and express a local opinion. The Senator represents a State; the Representative a District. He does this partly by deliberate choice, because if he fails to do so he will not be reelected; partly unconsciously, because he shares the opinions and the interests of his locality. To say that he does this is not to criticise him; that is what he is sent to the Congress for. If he did not represent those opinions and interests, his constituents would do right in sending some one else to take his place. For the Congress is composed on the theory, not that these four or five hundred men are honest enough and wise enough to comprehend the interests of the entire Nation and to legislate for the Nation in disregard of local opinion and interests, but that the way to ascertain the

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opinions and interests of the Nation is to compare those of all its separate localities, and by the comparison, and in some cases the collision between them, seek a result that will be just to all.

In this legislative department there is one man and only one who represents the entire Nation. He represents no local constituency, no district, no State, no section. He is elected by the whole country, responsible to the whole country, and therefore equally accessible to the whole country. The opinion of Nebraska has no weight with a Senator from New York. In fact, the Senator from New York has almost no means of knowing what that opinion is. But with the President the opinion of New York and of Dakota, of New Jersey and of Louisiana, are equally weighty. The doors of the White House swing open to the citizen of one State as readily as to those of any other. Mr. McKinley in the House represented the State of Ohio; in the Presidential chair he represented the Nation.

For these reasons the President, whether he will or not, is the leader of his party. If he refuses to lead, it stands still. If he leads whither it will not follow, either party anarchy or party revolt follows. Neither the Speaker of the House nor the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee can be a true National leader; for he is not elected by the Nation nor responsible to the Nation; he is elected by a District and is responsible to the District. If Mr. Cannon's District is opposed to tariff revision, he cannot be a revisionist; if it is opposed to expending money for a forest reserve, no matter how important to the Nation such a reserve may be, he cannot well vote for it and he is not likely to believe in it. With very rare exceptions, the Representative is and must be provincial. It may even be said that while he remains a Representative he ought to be provincial. For he is sent to the Congress to represent his province.

For these reasons, too, it is often the distinctive function of the President to take the initiative in legislation; to perceive the importance to the Nation of a measure which no individual member would perceive because it is National, not local, or, perceiving, would have no power to get before the country, because he is a local, not a National, figure. This National quality in the President will make him sometimes more conservative, sometimes more radical, than the Congress, and generally more conservative than some Congressmen and more radical than others. It enabled Mr. Lincoln to realize the sentiment of the Middle West and hold back the Emancipation Proclamation against great pressure from the New England States until the Nation was ready to welcome and to enforce it. It enabled Mr. McKinley to hold the war spirits back from declaring war against Spain until the Eastern States were ready to second the demand which the West made weeks, if not months, before. It enabled Mr. Roosevelt to gauge the rising discontent with transportation conditions and in his Providence speech to demand a remedy more than three years before the Congress was ready to act upon a railway rate regulation bill. Mr. McKinley was criticised for having his ear to the ground. The President ought to have his ear to the ground, that he may listen to the tread of seventy million people, to know in what direction they are moving, and may guide them in the right direction. The Czar has his ear at the keyhole, and hears only the voice of the Bureaucracy; and because he cannot hear the people all Russia is in revolt.

What kind of a man, then, do we need for President?

First, a man of courage, who will enforce the laws alike against popular prejudice and private interests; second, a man of administrative ability, who understands men, has tact which enables him to get along with all sorts of men, power to win the loyalty of men, and so capability to supervise without directing in detail the immense business operations in which the country is engaged; and, third, a man with a broad horizon and with popular sympathies, who sees what are the needs of the Nation, what are its desires and what its perils, and who can interpret the needs, give expression to the desires, and warn against the perils, and can, in brief, give information to the Congress as to

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the state of the Union, and recommend measures to guard against the perils, satisfy the desires, and provide for the needs of the Nation. These measures the Congress can then consider and debate from the many points of view furnished by the representatives of many different constituencies, with conflicting opinions and interests.

The reader who believes that we have here correctly interpreted the function of the President may perhaps be interested to test by it the comparative merits of the following gentlemen, whom our correspondent tells us are being canvassed in Washington for the Presidency. We print their names here in alphabetical order, without even indicating by letter or emblem to which party they respectively belong. We do not put Mr. Roosevelt's name in the list, because we believe in the sincerity of Mr. Roosevelt's repeated declarations, and do not believe that there is any probability of any contingency which will lead him to become a candidate.

William J. Bryan	William R. Hearst
Joseph G. Cannon	Charles E. Hughes
George B. Cortelyou	Robert M. La Follette
Charles W. Fairbanks	Richard Olney
Joseph W. Folk	Alton B. Parker
Joseph B. Foraker	Elihu Root
George Gray	Leslie M. Shaw

William H. Taft

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The Railway Crisis

That the country is facing a crisis in its railway finances is the opinion of some of our ablest and most conservative bankers and financiers. The values of railway securities have fallen suddenly and alarmingly; it is reported that some necessary and important railway improvements have been stopped or curtailed because the promoters are in a state of uncertainty and alarm about the future; and it is known that one or two of our great railway systems, in order to supply their absolute and legitimate needs, have had to borrow funds at expensive rates of interest in foreign money markets, because American investors have lost their faith in railway stocks and bonds.

Various reasons are given for this serious condition of affairs. The railway managers ascribe it to the radical and reformatory policy of President Roosevelt; the shippers and investors assert that it results from the despotic and selfish policy of the railway managers, such as was revealed in the Inter-State Commerce Commission's investigation of Mr. Harriman; and Mr. Carnegie in a recent speech declared that "a few gamblers in Wall Street are the trouble."

Various remedies are proposed. A large number of State Legislatures think that freight and passenger rates fixed by lawmakers will cure the evils; State Socialists advocate Government ownership with renewed vigor; Mr. Morgan is reported to have cabled from Europe that the thing to do is to have some of the great bankers unite to "help the market;" and not a few of the railway managers, recognizing Mr. Roosevelt's great influence upon the American public, and thus upon American legislation, are urging him to call off the legislators, tell the people that all's well, and let the railway presidents and directors manage their affairs in the good, old-fashioned way—that is to say, upon the theory that a railway is not a public highway but a private business subject merely to the ordinary laws of supply and demand.

In the midst of this turmoil, this anxiety, this confusion of opinion, and this uncertainty regarding the facts, the proposal of Mr. Jacob H. Schiff ought to be welcomed everywhere. Mr. Schiff, who has, as a banker, very large and influential relations with American railways, urges an official conference of representative railway managers, appointed by the railways for the purpose, with the Inter-State Commerce Commission, representing the Government. "In this conference," says Mr. Schiff, "there could be a fair and frank discussion of all the proposals for railroad legislation of every kind, and it ought to be possible for such a body of men to agree upon a plan for legislation fair to all parties, which could receive the sanction of the President, of the people generally, and of stockholders in the railroads. This could be made the basis of legisla-

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tion by Congress, and it should be of such a thorough nature as to make it unnecessary for individual States to do more than follow the lines laid down here."

As The Outlook has during the past few months made and reiterated a similar suggestion, we hardly need to say that we heartily indorse Mr. Schiff's proposal. It is clear that some form of Federal legislation is needed which will effectively protect the railways from unintelligent and inimical legislation on the part of the States, the shipper and traveler from the whims, selfishness, or dishonesty of individual railway despots, and the investor from the disasters which always follow personal quarrels carried on between ambitious and unscrupulous railway promoters in the too often foggy and impenetrable atmosphere of Wall Street.

We hope that the Schiff conference will be called, and we propose for its consideration and discussion a plan of Federal legislation which shall accomplish the following results:

1. The establishment of a Department of Railways, with a Secretary of Railways in the Cabinet.

2. Federal incorporation of all inter-State railways.

3. Pooling, traffic agreements, and mergers, under the supervision of the Department of Railways, to be made legal.

4. Capitalization of inter-State railways to be regulated and controlled by the Department of Railways.

5. Uniform system of accounting and absolute publicity of accounts under the inspection of a body of National Railway Examiners appointed and directed by the Secretary of Railways.

6. Tariffs and rates to be made by the railways, but on complaint of shippers in specific cases the reasonable and just rate to be fixed by the Department.

7. All accidents to be investigated and responsibility fixed by a Bureau of Railway Accidents within the Department.

8. Railway labor disputes to be investigated and all facts made public by the Department of Railways, and both railways and employees compelled to carry out strictly their mutual contracts and agreements.

Some such plan as this would protect the interests of the railway builder and manager, the railway investor, the railway laborer, the railway shipper, and the railway traveler—interests which now are so often conflicting and antagonistic.

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Women and Politics

The women who are opposed to woman's suffrage would do well to reprint in a tract an article on "Women and Politics" by Caroline E. Stephen in the Nineteenth Century and After, reprinted in the Living Age (March 9, 1907). It is written in a spirit of calmness and womanly reserve which is in refreshing contrast to some of the unwomanly utterances which have been given forth by advocates upon the other side. The woman's suffrage question is two questions: one addressed to men, Ought the suffrage to be imposed on women without first ascertaining whether they desire it? the other addressed to women, Is it their duty to desire it? Each of these questions Miss Stephen states with great clearness and answers with great distinctness in the negative.

I. Some women regard suffrage as a privilege which they eagerly desire, or as a right which they vigorously and vehemently demand. Other women regard suffrage as they regard service in the militia or on the police or upon juries, as a part of the function of government from which they have been exempt in the past and wish to be exempt in the future. Miss Stephen presents the latter view with great clearness.

> On behalf of a great though silent multitude of women, I desire to set forth some of the grounds on which we shrink from the proposed abolition of our present exemption from the office of electing members of Parliament. This change, if made without the serious attempt to ascertain the wishes of the women of England, may inflict upon them, against their will and without a hearing, a grave injustice.

Legislators ought not to impose the burden of the suffrage on women who think that exemption from it is a right of the sex, without first ascertaining which of the two opinions is

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prevalent among the women of the country, nor without considering which opinion is supported by the better reason. That a great many women do desire the continuance of this exemption and shrink from the proposed abolition of it is indisputable. That this is the present state of mind of an overwhelming majority of women we think is scarcely less indisputable. Any man who entertains doubts upon this question can get some light upon it by quietly and individually asking a score of women of his acquaintance, selected at hazard, whether they personally desire to vote. He may find one or two who will answer in the affirmative. He may find a few more who are seriously questioning whether they ought not to desire to vote. But he will find the majority either shrinking from assuming this new function or indifferent to it.

If he wishes to push his inquiries further, he will find that in several of the States are quiet organizations of women, not so demonstrative as the suffragists but quite as influential and more representative, who agree with Miss Stephen in protesting against the abolition of their traditional exemption from political duties; and now a similar organization has been formed in England. The defeat in the New York Assembly by a vote of 70 to 38 of the latest suffragist movement is in no small measure due to the effective protest against the proposed measure by the New York State Woman's Anti-Suffrage Association. Women who share Miss Stephen's reluctance to have the suffrage thrust upon them might well at least give to such associations, where they exist, the moral support of their names. This involves no publicity. For these quiet women hold no public meetings, enter into no public debates, make no public speeches, and depend almost wholly on the use of literature, on enlisting men as defenders of their cherished rights, and on protests before legislative committees against having unwelcome powers thrust upon them. The World, of London, very justly points out "the absurdity of shrieking against the brutal tyranny of withholding votes from women, when women in great and increasing numbers are protesting that they have no use for votes and consider themselves much better off without them."

Miss Stephen truly says that "it could hardly 'pass the wit of man' to devise some method by which the opinion of women could be ascertained." The wit of men in Massachusetts devised such a plan some years ago. In 1895 the women of that State were asked by the Legislature to vote on the question whether they wished the suffrage. Of the 575,000 voting women in the State only 22,209 cared enough for the suffrage to deposit in a ballot-box an affirmative answer to the question. That is, in round numbers, a trifle over ninety-six per cent. of the women of the State said by their silence, with Miss Stephen, "We shrink from the proposed abolition of our present exemption." The legislator has to consider, not whether he will refuse a prerogative to women who desire it, but whether he will impose an unauthorized duty upon women who shrink from accepting it. To impose the suffrage on a great class who do not desire to exercise it is to try an entirely new and very hazardous experiment in government.

II. Still, it is conceivable that this is a duty which women ought to assume, from which they ought not to shrink, and that it ought to be imposed upon them whether they will or no, as military duty is imposed on men of unmilitary temper, and jury duty on men who shrink from performing it. This question Miss Stephen also considers, and her statement of it appears to us to imply the true answer:

> The real question, then, is whether our country will be best served by a continuation of the present immemorial distribution of functions, by which men undertake the actual management of what are emphatically called public affairs, while women are mainly occupied with private or domestic matters, each sex exercising the while a powerful influence on the way in which the other manages its own special business; or whether it would be a better plan that both sexes should indiscriminately attend to all business, whether public or private.

Miss Stephen goes on to say, with the quiet forcefulness which always attaches to a clear statement of an indisputable truth, that "there is a certain

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absurdity about the mere suggestion of men's taking any increased part in women's work;" that "what is in fact proposed is that women, while continuing to do all their own work, shall take an increased share in that of men." When women are told that it is their duty to demand the ballot, and the share in government which the ballot involves, the two questions which they have to ask of themselves are, on the one hand, Does time now hang so heavy on our hands that we ought to seek a new and public vocation for the sake of our own usefulness? and, on the other, Is the work of government so poorly done by our fathers, brothers, and husbands, and are we so much better fitted morally and intellectually to do that work, that we ought to step into the breach in order to correct the failures and follies of our male companions? To ask these questions is to answer them. The home, the school, the church, public and private charities, and social life, which is quite as vital to the well-being of the community as its political life, afford more opportunities for high and noble service than any woman has time and strength for. And, happily, there are few women so supercilious as to think that they must, despite their reluctance, undertake a share in the government of the State in order to save it from the misgovernment inflicted by their brothers.

III. There is one other argument for woman suffrage which may be tersely put thus: Women must have a share in the government in order that they may get justice from the government; women must be able to vote, and to vote together, in order to get for their sex what the sex wants and is entitled to. Miss Stephen treats this argument with scant respect—though with all it deserves—and, with true knowledge of woman's nature, points out a more excellent way to such as do not wish the suffrage for themselves, but think they ought to want it and to exercise it for their less fortunate sisters:

> Anything like rivalry or jealousy between the sexes is too odious a thought to be dwelt on. But it seems necessary to remember that, were it possible for any such opposition to arise, women must of necessity fail. Our strength lies not in our power to oppose, but in our appeal to all that is best and tenderest in men, in our possession of a key to their reverence.

America has suffered much from the voting of section against section; much from the voting of race against race; and it has suffered locally from the voting of class against class and church against church. But neither sectional nor race nor class nor religious voting could inflict on the community so disastrous results as would follow from sex voting. The attempt to unite either sex in an endeavor to get an advantage out of the other sex by political action would be a more odious political combination than any of past history.

We repeat that we should like to see Miss Stephen's article reprinted for general circulation as a tract. We do not see how any fair-minded person, whatever his predilection, can well question her conclusion, as stated in her closing paragraph: "It may be that there are real needs, imperfectly visible to my eyes, for some further alteration of our traditional balance and adjustment of functions as between men and women. . . . But it cannot be right that such readjustment should be made or stimulated on any but the broadest grounds of national expediency, or without the hearty concurrence of the half of the nation most immediately concerned."

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A False Messenger

The New Church Messenger, of Chicago, adopts as its motto, "Behold, I make all things new." It lives up to its motto by purporting to give its readers a report of an article in The Outlook based on a sermon by Dr. L. Mason Clarke, and in its report the Messenger makes both sermon and article so new that no reader would recognize either. It assumes that both preacher and editor denied the divinity of Jesus Christ, whereas both affirmed his divinity. It publishes sentences in quotation marks, saying that it is quoting from the preacher and the editor—sentences which are neither in the sermon nor in the editorial. There is nothing in either editorial or sermon which approximates these

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sentences in either spirit or phraseology. It is this sort of thing in journals which call themselves religious that makes men scoff at religion.

The New Church Messenger is a messenger of false tidings. We should be glad to have it tell its readers that The Outlook says so.

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The Book of Life

Those who are disturbed lest modern critical study of the Bible shall diminish its authority will do well to read Professor J. H. Gardiner's discussion of "The Bible as Literature;"[1] a course of lectures of equal value to the student of the Old and New Testaments and of English literature. Mediæval thinking laid such overwhelming emphasis on the divine in Christ that Jesus of Nazareth was almost lost in a cloud of incense, and the sweetness, strength, and fellowship of one who bore our sins and was acquainted with our sorrows were so obscured that men lost some of the greatest things he came to bestow. The modern emphasis on the Jesus of the first three Gospels has not obscured the Jesus of the fourth Gospel and of the Apostolic epistles, but has brought him out of the mystery of the Godhead into the homes and fields and thronged streets where his human tenderness and his divine strength are most sorely needed. In like manner the study of the Bible as literature, instead of lowering its power as revelation, has freshened and deepened the sense of its unique quality and authority, by treating it as the product of vital processes instead of a series of arbitrary acts of revelation.

Those who have feared that the study as literature of the sixty-six books bound together in the Bible, which came into being over a period of many centuries, from men of widely different temperaments, with varying moral standards and capacity for understanding spiritual things, would obliterate the unity of the great religious text-book of Christendom, will take heart again when they read the testimony of a dispassionate critic to the wonderful harmony of fundamental thought which makes it possible to read these books as if they were chapters in one book. It is only five hundred years since Chaucer died, but how diverse and often irreconcilable have been the views of life presented in English literature since the author of the "Canterbury Tales" ended his pilgrimage! The Old Testament, on the other hand, was more than a thousand years in the making, and yet Professor Gardiner declares that the popular usage which speaks of the Bible as a single book is sound. The earliest materials, he reminds us, go back to the time when the people of Israel were just emerging from a nomadic life; songs, stories, and laws gradually coalesced in the hands of a long series of writers into something like connected histories; successive schools of priests and prophets gained a clearer perception of the nature of Jehovah and his relations to the chosen people, and changed the histories in some cases in purpose and contents until they came into the present form in the time of Persian sovereignty. The books of poetry came to be the expression of the Jews when they were struggling, with unconquerable faith, to preserve their church and nation. Prophecy reached its height with Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, and then gradually lost its power. In the New Testament there are books written in a modern and mature language, under the Roman Empire. In twelve hundred years there had been brought together folk-songs, legends and myths, histories based on contemporary records, great bodies of laws reflecting important changes in civilization, highly developed schemes of liturgy and ecclesiastical law, proverbs, psalms, soaring prophecies, mystical visions, the "simple, everlasting stories and teachings of the gospels, the fiery and soaring arguments of St. Paul."

This varied literature reflects a long series of changes of thought, of government, of social condition; it was the product of men of many diverse types of spirit; it was Oriental, and came from the same civilization as the "Arabian Nights;" and yet the poetry throughout, unlike most Oriental poetry, is marked

[1] The Bible as English Literature. By J. H. Gardiner. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

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by the most extreme concreteness and objectivity of idea and of form; the books of wisdom never reason, in the modern sense of the word; the "religious ideas develop without any break which could make the pious Jew of the fourth century B.C. feel himself cut loose from ancestors of the tenth or fifteenth century B.C., whose religion and worship had close kinship to those of other desert tribes."

The seeds of this unity were sown in Old Testament times, in the gradual advance of the Jews to higher ideas of the nature of Jehovah; a definite, growing purpose directed the selection and molding of the material which went into the books of history. When the Bible finally took form, it reflected the background, the constantly changing conditions, the soil and sky and occupation, temperament and character, as clearly as the other great literatures reflect all the conditions, internal and external, of the peoples who created them; it was saturated with human nature from beginning to end, and it is primarily a revelation of man because its disclosure of God is made through its disclosure of the nature, the spiritual history and destiny of man.

This literature, not let down from heaven like the Koran, but growing out of the soil of human life, has wonderful unity not only of fundamental ideas, but of manner and style. It is as unlike all other Oriental literature in form as in idea. A large part of it is in narrative form, and is stamped throughout with "a simplicity and a limpid and vivid clearness which make it appeal to all sorts and conditions of men," while throughout its whole range it has "an undercurrent of earnestness and strong feeling;" the first qualities clothing even homely events with beauty and spiritual power, the second crystallizing deep feeling in strong rhythm and varied music. The characteristics of the poetry are concreteness and objectivity, with powerful rhythm and rich coloring of style. "The unsurpassed vividness of the Hebrew poetry and its unfailing hold on our imagination may be ascribed to this fact, that it always expressed emotions directly and concretely through sensations instead of describing them by words which are abstract and therefore pale. . . . Thus a literature which is able to express itself through these unalterable sensations has a permanence of power impossible to any literature which is phrased largely in abstractions and in inferences from these sensations."

The Wisdom books stand out from other writings of their class by reason of direct intuition instead of abstract reasoning, of telling terseness, and of commanding insight into human nature. In the Gospels there is the same vivid objectivity; the discourses of Christ deal with the solid facts of existence; secondary causes are never mentioned; "God watches over the sparrow just as he created the universe and established laws and ordinances for men to obey." St. Paul introduces a new manner and style, and often uses the methods of the abstract reasoner, but he sets forth new truths in the terms of the history of Israel. The prophecies, the most characteristic writings of the Hebrews, show the same grasp of solid fact, with profound seriousness and nobility of imagination; they are "phrased in the words of the things which men can see and hear and feel, but they are filled with the palpable breath of the things which lie beyond our present capacity to understand."

No one who does not know other literatures, and especially other Oriental literatures, can appreciate the extraordinary difference of note between the Bible and other literatures; its quiet, apparently unconscious assumption of authority, its definite and unhesitating attitude of command, its direct statement without any attempt to buttress its position by abstract reasoning, its simple narrative of unprecedented experiences and unusual events as if they were matters of common knowledge, its freedom from abstract statement, its marvelous concreteness. It habitually wears the air and uses the speech of revelation; it never explains, justifies, reasons; it is throughout a literature of intuition, insight, and vision anchored solidly in human experience and vitally bound up with historical events. It is, above all other books, the Book of Life, not only

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because it deals with the ultimate things of the soul, but because it is the book of the life of a race; bone of its bone and blood of its blood in its substance, but soaring far above the reach of its highest experiences in its revelation of God to man and of man to himself.

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The Spectator

The Spectator recently made a winter trip in western New England. Together with a friend he traveled for the most part by trolley through a region where it will soon be possible to cover in that manner the entire route they took. This route ran from one State into two others, then back again and nearly across the first, continuing into a fourth by steam-cars the portion that in another year will be used entirely by trolley. It is not a densely inhabited region, according to the standard of the seaboard a hundred miles or so to the eastward. The possibilities of traffic would hardly justify a development of trolley lines to that extent by various local companies. These lines, however, were part of a great unified electric railway system, comprising both local and interurban features—a service made possible under the sagacious policy of one of the great steam railway companies of the country. This company has planned a vast secondary system of electric railways—"light railways," they call them in England. These braid themselves, so to speak, along the principal steam lines, and, at various points of vantage, radiate off into the more strictly rural regions. In this way the company is developing profitable new feeders for its main lines of traffic while providing its tributary communities with facilities for cheap and frequent intercommunication to an extent that would hardly be possible without the enormous financial resources of a giant corporation that operates on a great scale and plans with corresponding comprehensiveness.

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The Spectator and his companion had a deal of ground to cover in a limited time. So they particularly appreciated the frequency and regularity of the trolley-car movements. Indeed, their programme could otherwise hardly have been carried out, except by means of costly requisitions upon livery stables, entailing at least twice the time upon the road, and, in the frigid temperature of those days, with almost unbearable discomfort.

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Rural trolleying is a favorite summer-time diversion. But the city dwellers are few who know what it is to traverse a midwinter countryside by electric cars. Therefore they little realize how remarkable are the sociological changes that now are diffusing throughout whole counties and even larger sections the qualities of neighborliness lately limited to villages. Under the influence of institutions like the trolley, the rural free delivery of mails, the public library, the good roads movement, the automobile, and the telephone, the traditional stagnation of country life in New England has already very largely been dissipated. One notes an alertness of action and speech, a vivacity of manner, that from a social point of view seem highly significant. Little is seen of the yokel, the bumpkin, the "jay," in the regions touched by these enlightening institutions.

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In certain up-to-date modern developments the rural regions where these innovating things are to be found—either some or all of them—have the advantage of the great cities. In domestic circumstances "modern conveniences" have long been as characteristic of the country as of the city. In the more recent aspects of them, indeed, the large cities have suffered from the conservatism, the inertia, that makes addiction to the less desirable things a fixed habit. For instance, the country people and the residents of the smaller towns have very largely replaced malodorous kerosene by the cheerful, wholesome, and convenient electric light. But in their dwellings the greater portion of the residents of the larger cities still suffer under the infliction of the unhygienic gaslight. Likewise in their electric railway services the

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rural regions, the towns, and the minor cities have the advantage of metropolitan communities. In the winter the festal-seeming open car of the summer excursionist is replaced by something quite superior to the ordinary "box car" of the city. The electric car designed for rural and interurban service might be described as a sort of adolescent steam railway coach, with all the conveniences of the latter and some points decidedly in its favor—as in the excellent illumination and the electric heating.

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In the quietness, the snowy hush, of the midwinter landscape, the Spectator remarked an effect of snugness. Perhaps this came from the long strips of habitancy compressed between the great hills. With all their cold austerity, the hills—their rank almost that of mountains—had a brooding protectiveness of aspect; their huge uplifted solitudes made the valleys beneath seem all the more sociable. The feeling of snugness, of coziness, was also doubtless due to the service of the mountains in breaking the sweep of the winds. Snugness is incompatible with a raging wind. At such times a warm and tight-walled house may seem cozy; but a neighborhood, a stretch of countryside, never. Above on the uplands lay the "hill towns." How the winds must bluster up there! The late Charles Dudley Warner, born and bred in one of those towns, once told the Spectator that as a boy he felt the winter cold so intensely that he never got over the misery of it; the memory of that vast bleakness always made him shiver; he was glad enough to get away from those dreadful hill-top winters. Still, it was there that he had the supreme pleasure of "Being a Boy," that, reflected in his genial, summer-souled nature, has given a kindred delight to many hundreds whose boyhood remains beneath their husks of age.

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Throughout those days of winter trolleying the temperature kept well below zero. But in the valleys the keen air was dry, was bright with sunshine, and the cars were comfortably warm. The windows were densely frosted; for all that could be seen through them, they might as well have been of ground glass. The most diligent scraping of the panes would have availed nothing. The frosted surface would have restored itself as quickly as the intrusive tide that returned upon each expulsive sweep of Dame Partington's broom. But one of the chief desires of the Spectator and his friend in their rural trolley-faring was to enjoy the landscape in its unfamiliar aspects. Fortunately, the Spectator had noted in advance the frosting of the windows. So he took the precaution of purchasing at a corner druggist's just before starting a dime's worth of glycerine. Its application proved a great success. Glycerine does not freeze or evaporate. Hence a little of it rubbed over the window-glass with some soft paper acted like magic. At first the glycerine was viscid. But the congealed humidity diluted it, and the frost coating vanished like magic, leaving a clear field for the vision. A little renewal now and then easily kept the landscape visible. The Spectator would have been pleased to pass his bottle around among his fellow-passengers, but these seemed to take no particular interest in the scenery. Doubtless it was all too familiar in their eyes. The glycerine proved a good investment. At the end of the three days there was still left at least seven and a half cents' worth.

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The Spectator found much and varied interest in those sections of four States—a scrap of New York besides portions of Massachusetts, Vermont, and Connecticut. He enjoyed contrasts of repeated transitions from brisk and sizable cities, with theaters and excellent hotels, into a rugged wilderness of mountains and woodlands; animated factory villages; reposing farmsteads; and the park-like domains and palatial country homes of multi-millionaires, snow-muffled and slumbrously awaiting the summer. There was also the historic interest: a famous revolutionary battlefield, with its imposing monumental shaft, a celebrated seat of learning nobly environed, the homes of poets classic in American literature—a region beloved by artists and rich in associations of song and story.

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THE NEXT PRESIDENT

BY JOHN CALLAN O'LAUGHLIN

Correspondent of the Chicago Tribune

SECOND PAPER

DEMOCRATIC POSSIBILITIES

IT would take the seventh son of a seventh son to predict the nominee of the Republican party in the next Presidential campaign, but descent from a soothsayer is not necessary to forecast the man who will be selected by the Democratic party to lead it in that Titanic political struggle. William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, a little tarnished in the eyes of the South by the celebrated Government ownership speech he delivered at New York upon his return from a tour of the world, is the sole hope of the demoralized Democracy. He is a political phœnix soaring above the ashes of his free silver and anti-imperialistic theories. He has enjoyed the doubtful satisfaction of seeing a Republican President put into force the very principles for which he strenuously fought—National regulation of railways and prosecution of the trusts. He has been unfortunate in being ahead of the times, enunciating principles which the people at first failed to understand and approved only after education gave them light. Government ownership of railways may or may not come in the future; its fate will depend, without doubt, entirely upon the results of the enforcement of the new Inter-State Commerce Law. But Government ownership is not to-day a question of practical politics. The South has repudiated it. Its support would split the Democratic party. Were it not for the declaration he made in its behalf, Mr. Bryan would stand squarely before the people on old-line issues—greater control of the money power, which includes revision of the tariff, suppression of monopolies, and regulation of railways; preservation of State rights, honesty and economy in Federal administration, adoption of an income tax, etc. And some of these questions will be the prime issues of the Presidential campaign.

The Democratic party is suffering from sterility both in Presidential possibilities and campaign issues. Time and again I have heard prominent Democrats bemoan the fact that the Republicans were stealing their thunder. Take, for example, the tariff. They would like nothing better than to make the question of revision the paramount issue of the campaign. Yet the Republicans themselves, warned by the defeat of Congressman McCleary in Minnesota and the reduction in the vote of Congressman Dalzell of Pennsylvania, and others, are paving the way to a declaration in their platform that the Congress elected simultaneously with the President shall alter all those schedules which no longer benefit the people. Of course if Speaker Cannon be the nominee, the platform will contain no such declaration, or, if it does refer to revision, it will be in the same vague language as the plank of 1904. In such event the Democrats will be able to force a clean-cut fight on this issue. But if, on the other hand, a pledge for revision is made, and Secretary Taft or Secretary Root nominated, the Democrats must content themselves with observing their usual negative tactics, pointing to the non-fulfillment of the promise of 1904 and asking the people if it would not be the part of wisdom and prudence to confide the duty of revision to the party which consistently has urged it rather than to the party which upholds protection and would be

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reluctant to modify even a few of the schedules which bear onerously upon the workingmen. The Democrats always have contended that the tariff is the "mother of trusts," and they assert that the remedies they have devised are the only certain cures for this great evil and the equally serious ones which it has produced. They ask, Who is there in the Republican ranks, outside of President Roosevelt, more thoroughly equipped to apply these remedies than Mr. Bryan? President Roosevelt has prosecuted the Standard Oil Trust, the Tobacco Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Paper Trust, the Turpentine Trust, and other combinations of capital. But the people have gained no advantage thereby; there has been no decrease in the cost of living, rather has there been an increase and a large one; and the trusts have continued to flourish. A few years ago the President dissolved the Northern Securities Company, which controlled the Great Northern and Northern Pacific Railways. But is there any shipper in the region penetrated by these lines who does not know that the two roads are in as close agreement as to rates as they were before the Northern Securities Company was destroyed? And has not the Inter-State Commerce Commission been compelled to take notice of the situation and institute a new investigation? Did the dissolution of the Northern Securities Company cause E. H. Harriman to hesitate a moment in acquiring control of the Southern Pacific Railroad and various other railway and steamship lines so as to stop competition with and round out the Union Pacific system?

These are some of the questions in which the Democrats hope to interest the people; but, unfortunately from their point of view, a Republican President is doing all he can to settle them. They may claim that what he has done and is doing is inadequate; they will say that unless a Roosevelt succeed the Roosevelt now in power, the work of correction will fail and end; that additional remedies, which a Republican Congress will not authorize, besides the man, are necessary. Mr. Bryan, they say, is as strong in his way as Mr. Roosevelt in his, and would compel the Democrats to grant him authority, as the President has forced the Republicans to give it to him.

But, after all, there is general appreciation in Democratic ranks of the fact that the President has strengthened considerably the position of the Republican party with respect to the trusts and railways, and no direct issue along this line can be created. Both parties will pledge themselves to correct the evils, the Republicans pointing to what they have done as an indication of what they will do, the Democrats relying upon promise and the efforts they have made to force the Republicans to observe the Anti-Trust Law. Something new is imperatively demanded. There has been a good deal of flirting during the Fifty-ninth Congress with the question of State rights. Usurpation by the Executive of the power of the States has been denounced in Congress, and the speeches have been sent broadcast over the land. But this issue is less Republican than Rooseveltian. Secretary of State Root made a speech in New York wherein he intended, so he says, merely to point out the dangers of centralization, but the Democrats will use it to convince the people that the Republican party is determined to override State rights. They conveniently overlook the fact that their support enabled the Administration to force the passage by Congress of the Railroad Rate Regulation Act, the Meat Inspection Act, and the Pure Food Act. All of these laws confide to the General Government greater power in connection with State affairs than ever has been granted in the past. To the disinterested observer it looks as though both parties were tarred with the same brush. While not in Congress, Mr. Bryan indorsed these measures and expressed regret at their inadequacy.

It is the hope of Democracy that fortune will cast an issue—a live issue—into its lap. It criticises John Sharp Williams, the minority leader in the House of Representatives, because he has failed to put the Republican party so palpably in an awkward position that the people would seek a change of masters. It finds fault with its representatives in the Senate and House who lacked the ability

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and the generalship to make campaign material out of the Railroad Rate Law, which was of Democratic origin. They had hoped for a scandal in connection with the construction of the Panama Canal. No scandal has yet developed. "Perhaps something underhand will be discovered before the election," was the hopeful observation of one Democratic leader.

It has been truly said that an issue is nothing without the man. Here again the Democrats are at a loss save for Mr. Bryan. It is almost pitiful to hear the leaders discuss the possibilities and then say with a sigh that Bryan is their only hope; they admit that he is not forcing himself upon them, that the logic of conditions is doing so. But I think Mr. Bryan is making the conditions logical. He is keeping himself before the people in every possible way, by speeches, by lectures, by letters, and by journalistic work of a spectacular character. His tour of the world was a good example of his methods. Before he started he arranged with a syndicate of papers throughout the country to publish his articles. I need not call attention to the character of his work, for that would be to precipitate controversy and perhaps call forth further criticism of Mr. Bryan's views, say from the English in India, who object to the way he wrote about Indian affairs. But it can be said for Mr. Bryan that he has been received by every ruler of Europe and the East; that he pleased the German Emperor immensely; that the Czar was delighted to have the opportunity to talk with such a man of affairs as the American statesman; that he charmed the King of England by his straightforwardness and simplicity; and that the speeches he made abroad were models of good taste and oratorical merit. In only one instance do I recall that he offended a foreign ruler, and that was President Loubet, of France. The interview he had with the President was reproduced in the New York American without the consent and to the great indignation of the French Executive. It was true that Mr. Bryan did not write the interview, but the American correspondent who was present, and who heard every word exchanged by the President and Mr. Bryan, did. At that time Mr. Bryan was being exploited by The American in anticipation of the coming Presidential campaign. It was all well enough to advertise Mr. Bryan, but it was in bad taste, to say the least, to violate the confidence of the head of the French Republic in order to do so.

There is not the slightest question that had Mr. Bryan remained abroad a year longer than he did, and when he came back delivered an innocuous speech, he would not only have been nominated, but in all probability elected. He appeals to the people far more than does any other possibility in the Democratic ranks or in the Republican party. But Mr. Bryan is stung by the consciousness that he made a tactical blunder in advocating Government ownership of railways when the country was not in the mood to listen to anything of the kind. The Republican party is squarely against Government ownership; it proposes to use Mr. Bryan's declaration as a bomb to destroy him should he be nominated. And yet Mr. Roosevelt, while insisting that Government ownership would be ruinous, contemplates further steps in railway regulation which will lead the Government nearer and nearer to the solution Mr. Bryan proposed. There is not a prominent Democratic leader, outside of Mr. Bryan himself, who believes that the time is ripe for advocacy of Government ownership. With the people, I am not so sure; at least they are tolerant. Since Mr. Bryan spoke in New York I have been in close touch with various sections of the country, and it is certain that the Nebraskan has lost nothing in the way of popularity. Wherever he has appeared he has been welcomed enthusiastically. In the South, politicians were inclined to treat him coolly because of his Government ownership speech; but public sentiment compelled them to shower him with attentions. Mr. Bryan has conciliated these men by declaring that his Government ownership views were individual and were not intended to bind the party or any other Democrat. He has not pledged himself to secure their incorporation into public law. In this matter he has responded to pressure

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with gratifying promptness and given hope to his friends that the obstinacy which in the past has marked his clinging to unattainable principles has been tempered by the winds of political adversity.

If Mr. Bryan wants the support of money—and what political candidate does not?—he must make it clear to the holders of this most important vote-getter that his Government ownership ideas will continue to remain his personal and not become his official views. I was talking the other day with a prominent Southern Democrat who believed firmly that the South would resent any attempt on the part of Mr. Bryan to secure the realization of his latest dream. The South has displayed in the past a most unselfish attitude with respect to the Presidency. It has been willing to support any one who seemed acceptable to the North and West. Bryan appealed to it in 1896 and again in 1900, and on both occasions it cast a solid vote for the Nebraska nominee. It was true to Judge Parker, with a single exception, in 1904. That exception was Missouri, which in 1900 gave Mr. Bryan a plurality of 37,831 and four years later put itself in the Roosevelt column by the substantial plurality of 25,137. To show the National popularity of Bryan over Parker it is only necessary to recall that the former received in 1900 1,350,000 votes more than Judge Parker did in 1904.

What makes Mr. Bryan's chances for the nomination the stronger is the fact that so many Democratic State conventions either have indorsed him or made complimentary references to his candidacy in resolutions they adopted. Of course it does not necessarily follow that the Democrats of the States in which these conventions were held must heed the expression. At the same time it is recognized that it will have a moral effect that should not be discounted upon the conventions that will meet next year to select delegates to the National Democratic Convention. The States which have indorsed Mr. Bryan or approved his candidacy since the last campaign are: Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Delaware in the East; North Carolina, Arkansas, and Texas in the South; Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, and Michigan in the Middle West; Wisconsin, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wyoming, Idaho, Montana, Utah, and Washington in the Northwest; and Nebraska, Colorado, and California in the Far West. New Mexico and Hawaii, two of the Territories, also have indorsed Mr. Bryan. This means that the Nebraskan already has pledged to his support twenty-three of the forty-six States of the Union. There are nine Southern States, besides those named, which unquestionably will instruct for his nomination. It is planned to have the New England States send uninstructed delegates to the Convention. Of course they will be expected to vote for Mr. Bryan. Mr. Hearst is organizing in the West, ostensibly intending to hold various State delegations for the Nebraskan. With Mr. Bryan so far in the lead, one hears rarely the name of any other Democrat mentioned for the nomination. Rather is heard a remark like this: "Well, at least Bryan is fundamentally a Democrat. We regret his vagaries, but at bottom he is all right." Or like this: "If Bryan should be defeated, he is the best man in the party to gloat over the result." Or like this: "If Bryan had been nominated in 1904, the Democrats would have stood a better chance of success. Looking back to that campaign, we doubt our own sanity in nominating Parker."

In spite of the strong grip of Mr. Bryan, there is no doubt that, if many of the political leaders could have their way, he would be put aside for one who in their opinion would be a stronger candidate. One Southern Democrat suggested the other day that an ideal ticket would be Judge George Gray, of Delaware, and Senator Charles A. Culberson, of Texas. Judge Gray is an admirable figure in American public life. That will be conceded both by Republicans and Democrats. For fourteen years he was a United States Senator. He served on the important committees of Foreign Relations and Judiciary. He affiliated with the Gold Democrats in 1896, and would appeal to the conservative financial interests. Just as he opposed Bryan on the silver issue, so he fought him on the question of territorial expansion—a question settled

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by the campaign of 1900, when it was Bryan's chief issue. He accepted an appointment as member of the Peace Commission which in Paris in 1898 negotiated the treaty with Spain whereby the independence of Cuba was secured and the United States acquired Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. He is a member of the International Permanent Court of Arbitration under the Hague Convention, and has an international status which Bryan has been seeking. He was made a Judge of the United States Circuit Court of the Third Judicial Circuit in 1899. He would appeal to labor by reason of his memorable service as Chairman of the Anthracite Coal Commission which settled the serious dispute between the miners and operators of Pennsylvania in 1902. Of course Judge Gray is not as oratorical or as spectacular as is Mr. Bryan; but then it is certain that the Democratic candidate will not have a spectacular opponent, as Mr. Parker did in 1904. There would be many Democrats who would be disappointed should the Convention fail to put Bryan at the head of the ticket. But if the Nebraskan, unselfishly sinking personal ambition, should loyally support Judge Gray, the latter's chances for success would be excellent. Unfortunately, Mr. Bryan has gotten to the point where he feels that the Democratic party to win must win with him. He knows that if any other Democrat were to be placed in the White House, his chance of occupying it for four years would be slim. It is true that, if Judge Gray were elected, the Democrats could not expect the country to give him a second term. Judge Gray is only four years younger than Speaker Cannon. In 1909 he will be sixty-nine years of age. In 1913 he will be seventy-three, and it is hardly to be expected that his physical condition, taking into consideration the serious burden of the Presidency, would be such as to permit him to give that clear, sound, forceful attention to the Nation's affairs which the people and events would require. Mr. Bryan is twenty years younger than Judge Gray, and but for his fear of being eclipsed could afford to accept the Delaware statesman for the campaign of 1908, should a situation arise compelling it. Senator Culberson, of Texas, who has been mentioned as a running mate for Judge Gray, would arouse the South. He is an Alabamian by birth, a Virginian by education, and a Texan by adoption. His father was a member of Congress for twenty-two years. He himself served as Attorney-General and Governor of Texas, and since 1899 has occupied a seat in the Senate. He is a man of good judgment, sane and conservative, very different in temperament from his colleague, Senator Joseph Weldon Bailey, whose connection with Standard Oil companies has caused him such grave embarrassment in his Senatorial election. There is no question as to the ability of Senator Bailey. He is an orator of the first class. He is a Constitutional lawyer who ranks with Spooner and Foraker, of the Republican party. He has been the undisputed leader of the Democrats in the Senate since the death of Arthur Pue Gorman, of Maryland. Senator Bailey did some devious things in connection with the Railroad Rate Bill when it was pending in the Senate during the first session of the Fifty-ninth Congress. It was asserted that he and Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island, understood each other, and that at the last moment a provision was to be slipped into the Railroad Rate Bill which would make the measure more acceptable to the railway interests. This talk, vague at first, became more pronounced as the session proceeded, and, followed as it has been by the public allegation that Bailey received money from one of the subsidiary concerns of the Standard Oil corporation, it definitely and finally removed the Texan Senator from all consideration as a Presidential possibility. It would not be at all surprising should Senator Bailey find his political actions looked on with suspicion in the future, and it is not likely that he will have the influence he has enjoyed in the past.

There is an occasional suggestion that Richard Olney, of Massachusetts, should be nominated by the Democratic Convention. Mr. Olney was Attorney-General and Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Cleveland. One hears his voice occasionally raised in discussion

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of public policies or principles, his last utterance of this character being directed against the Japanese policy of President Roosevelt. Mr. Olney, like all other Democratic aspirants for office, is an ardent believer in States' rights. He supported this principle when he said that the Federal Government had no right to interfere in the school affairs of a State. But the expressions of Mr. Olney cannot be taken as evidence of any desire on his part to act as the standard-bearer of the Democratic party in the next campaign. The objection of age which has been made to Speaker Cannon would apply with greater force to Mr. Olney, because the latter is one year older than the presiding officer of the House of Representatives. Moreover, Mr. Olney pursued a policy in the Chicago labor trouble of a decade ago which would lose him the support of labor. To put it in the colloquial language of another one of the Democratic Presidential possibilities, "Olney is smudged with Clevelandism." It must be said, however, that, objectionable as Mr. Olney is to the Democratic leaders, his chance must be rated as better than that of Judge Parker. Probably neither will be mentioned in the next Democratic Convention.

The paths of many Presidential aspirants usually are as untraceable upon the political firmament as last year's comets upon the celestial horizon. Judge Parker could not to-day add a vote to or subtract a vote from any one who might be selected as the candidate of the Democratic party. It is no secret to those who were at the Democratic Convention in 1904 that Mr. Parker never was Mr. Bryan's candidate. In the last three hours of the Convention it became with Mr. Bryan "anybody to beat Judge Parker." Mr. Bryan made a determined effort to induce Joseph W. Folk, Governor of Missouri, but better known for his vigorous prosecution of St. Louis boodlers, to permit him to present his, Folk's, name to the Convention. If Mr. Bryan by any chance should fail to get the nomination in 1908, the probability is that he would use his influence in behalf of Governor Folk. There are two opinions as to Governor Folk's availability. He is not popular with the politicians with whom he comes in contact. They recognize his intellectual force. He has some of the traits of President Roosevelt. He has a singleness of purpose which knows no modification until the result has been achieved. Unlike Mr. Roosevelt, he is not a man of varied interests. He does not write upon or discuss art, literature, or anything other than the subjects which directly concern his public duties. One Democrat of great influence said that he was nothing more than a public prosecutor. So at first was Mr. Cleveland. Mr. Folk stepped from the Circuit Attorneyship to the Governor's chair; Mr. Cleveland became Mayor of Buffalo after his service as Assistant District Attorney and Sheriff, and then was elected Governor. As Governor Mr. Folk has done good work in "putting on the lid." The saloons and racetracks have felt his hand, and the bucket-shops are trembling. He is pushing a two-cent-per-mile railway fare. He has beaten every old-line politician in Missouri. He is not strictly Presidential timber, but he is a man, and he appeals to the people. He is said to have more of a reputation outside his State than he has in it. And yet he was elected Governor by a plurality of 30,000 at the time Roosevelt swept the State for President with a plurality of 25,000. It is said that Kansas would vote for him as enthusiastically as for Mr. Bryan. The South would back him strongly because he would be regarded by that section as a Southern candidate. He was born in Tennessee, and educated and married in that State. To labor throughout the country he is practically unknown. In spite of Governor Folk's achievements in Missouri, he will not be indorsed for the Presidency by that State. Mr. Bryan has been and still is the idol of Missouri. If a proposition now pending in the Missouri Legislature be made into law—and the chances are that it will be—there will be no possibility for a cut-and-dried indorsement of Mr. Bryan or Mr. Folk or anybody else. The proposition contemplates the selection of delegates to the Convention by the direct vote of the people themselves. Governor Folk had recommended primaries for certain offices, but Senator Stone, who is one of his most ardent

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enemies, went still further and suggested that the primaries apply to all offices. The Governor has accepted Senator Stone's suggestion, and the probability is that it will be enacted into law. The people will then be called upon to vote at the proper time for Bryan delegates or Folk delegates. It is suggested that some division in the Missouri delegation will follow, and that either Mr. Bryan or Governor Folk will have to give way when the nomination is made.

Before I give in some detail the status politically of William Randolph Hearst, a really strong factor in Presidential politics in spite of his New York defeat, it seems desirable to dispose of the only remaining Southerner who has been suggested as a possibility. I refer to John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi. As leader of the minority in the House of Representatives, Mr. Williams has done better work than his fellow-Democrats appreciate. He has been criticised for not being aggressive, but the votes at his command were not sufficient in number to enable him to wage a forceful campaign. An abortive attempt against his rule was made in the interest of Congressman Champ Clark, of Missouri. Mr. Clark disavowed any connection with the conspiracy, and ended the well-meant efforts of his friends by the statement that so long as Mr. Williams wanted the minority leadership he would be content to serve as one of his followers. Mr. Williams could get the support of many Democrats if he chose to scramble for the nomination. But he really and truly does not want it. He says modestly that he is not fitted for the Presidency, and he says it in a way that carries conviction. His aspirations are Senatorial, and he expects to be nominated and elected to the Upper House to succeed Senator Money.

Now as to William Randolph Hearst. Immediately after the election in New York last November, when it was established that the newspaper candidate had been beaten by more than fifty thousand votes, there were few men in the country willing to predict that he would have a chance for the Presidential nomination. Everybody who knows Mr. Hearst knows that he has only one ambition. That is to be President. He has been willing to accept any other office, nay, to struggle for it, if he believed it would advance him a single step toward the goal upon which he has fixed his eyes. Mr. Hearst cares nothing for the Democratic party, as was shown by his willingness to wreck it to aid him in the achievement of his personal ambition. He formed the Independence League, and in New York used it as a lever to secure the nomination of the Democratic Convention at Buffalo for the Governorship of New York. Having put his foot upon a sounder plank, he was willing to let the Independence League flounder upon the rough sea upon which he had shipped it. He has denounced the "robber tariff," and yet, in a speech to farmers in upper New York, he favored protection. He has done splendid work in aiding the Government to prosecute the trusts, and yet the Hearst estate is proven to have underwritten the tobacco and other monopolies. He has denounced Chinese labor, but the Hearst estate in California has employed it.

If Mr. Hearst runs at all as a Presidential candidate, the chances are that it will be as an independent. He cannot hope to force the National Democratic party to make him its standard-bearer as he forced the New York Democracy to name him as its candidate. In the first place, rich as Mr. Hearst is, he has not money enough to accomplish this result, even if he wanted to do so. He admits having spent more than a quarter of a million dollars in his New York campaign, but competent politicians place his expenditure at nearer a million, basing this estimate upon information that he disbursed $600,000 in the organization of the Independence League in Illinois. Mr. Hearst has an Independence League in San Francisco, and its participation in the campaign resulted in the defeat of the Democratic ticket and the success of the Republican candidates. Friends of Mr. Hearst say that he would make a better running in a National campaign than he did in New York. They point to the fact that he is a rich man and can desire no more money; that his chain of newspapers make him a power to be reckoned with if he wanted

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power alone. But he does believe, they claim, that if he occupied the office of President he would be able to ameliorate the lot of the people to a far greater extent than any one else. He was defeated in New York, they allege, by his bitter enemy Senator McCarren, the Tammany leader in Brooklyn, who gave instructions to his followers to knife the head of the Democratic ticket. In spite of the fact that Mr. Hearst has denounced Mr. Taggart, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and other prominent Democratic leaders, he does not believe that they could effect his defeat if he were the Presidential candidate of the Democracy, as he believes Senator McCarren did in New York.

Mr. Hearst is a study in inconsistency. His treatment of Charles Murphy, the Tammany boss, shows his entire willingness to embrace to-day, for political purposes, a man whom he denounced a year ago as a fit subject for the penitentiary. If Mr. Taggart made overtures to Mr. Hearst, and would aid him in his Presidential aspirations, the New York American and other Hearst papers would, it is highly probable, cease editorial denunciation of the Indianian and cheerfully sing his praises. It is apparent from this that Mr. Hearst's principal enemies are those who dare to clash with his ambition. This brings up the question of Mr. Hearst's real feeling for Mr. Bryan. Mr. Hearst may find it expedient to declare for Mr. Bryan. If he does, the people of the country may as well understand that he does so simply because he believes he must. If he could overcome Mr. Bryan's tremendous popularity among the Democrats by some such manipulation as he practiced in New York, many of Mr. Bryan's best friends believe that he would do it.

Summing up the men and issues of the prospective Democratic campaign, it is not difficult to see whither the tide of affairs is drifting. Judge Gray would be classed among the Democrats as an ultra-conservative, of somewhat the same rank as Mr. Fairbanks and Mr. Cannon of the Republican party. Governor Folk would be accepted as an anti-corruptionist rather than as an advocate of great principles. Mr. Hearst would be looked upon as peculiarly the representative of discontent. Mr. Bryan takes place between Mr. Gray and Mr. Hearst, now that he has abandoned his advocacy of Government ownership of railways. The glaring radicalism of Mr. Hearst has benefited Mr. Bryan in making his radicalism seem conservative.

DESECRATION

BY HAROLD TROWBRIDGE PULSIFER

The solitary stillness of the wood,
The long deep silence of the morning calm,
The melody that nature understood,
When all the world lay cradled in His arm;
The solemn incense of the fragrant pine,
The half-heard music of a hidden choir,
The rhythm of a chant almost divine,
Sung underneath the starry altar-fire,
Has ended in the sullen sounding blows
Of crashing steel along the wooded aisle,
In blackened stumps above the winter snows,
In land that has forgotten how to smile;
A desert where the north wind sighing sweeps
Above the tomb in which the forest sleeps.

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EDWARD EVERETT HALE: A PRACTICAL IDEALIST

BY EDWARD EVERETT HALE, JR.

TO speak as a literary critic on the works of one's father offers a chance for much that is unbecoming. That chance comes to me sometimes in college classes, and I generally escape it by leaving the seat of judgment and becoming a historian. It does not seem just the thing for me to tell a class of college men that "The Man Without a Country" is one of the finest of our American short stories, or that it is not, but I can usually tell the fellows something about the way it came to be what it is. One does not have to lecture on the story to make them feel it, but they like to see that behind the story are a man and a life.

I am modern enough as a critic to believe that the literary work of a man who writes sincerely and readily for a good many years is a pretty fair index to his character. Doubtless the study of literature as the expression of personal character, or national, is not the only thing, but it is one of the elements of a useful criticism. And I often find in my studies of literature things that exhibit my father's character and interests and life as I remember them, or rather as they have left their impression on me in the many years that we have been intimate.

In his short stories the especial quality is a mixture of realism and phantasy. Whatever be its practical character, his best literary work always presents some idea that is curious, extravagant, quaint, impossible, strange, romantic, or something of the kind. His first striking story was of a clergyman who had a hired man who looked exactly like him, and whom he used to send in his place to all sorts of stupid public occasions, so that he himself could pursue quietly the really important things of life. His next story was of a man who had once wished he had no country, and who was forthwith put on board ship and kept for life out of sight and hearing of the country he had had. "Ten Times One is Ten" represents the conversion of the world by a scheme that renders possible the wildest combinations of geography and ethnology. "In His Name" has the charm of romantic mediævalism. "The Brick Moon," "Crusoe in New York," are clearly by their very titles works of the fancy. So are half a hundred other of his writings at bottom; that is to say, in the means by which he chose to carry out what was not infrequently a serious purpose. There is a tradition that he used to say that a story was "substantially done" when he had thought what it was to be about. To his mind it was, for it had only to be written.

This writing, however, was not fanciful at all. It was very realistic. If his ideas were, as he said of something else, thoroughly absurd, they were also thoroughly practical. Everything, even of the most extraordinary character, had to be not only possible but plausible. These strange things, it appeared, had generally happened to intimate friends of his, or perhaps to people whom he knew personally. If not that, he had heard of them by word of mouth or read some mention of them in the newspapers. In fact, he used to assume that the reader was acquainted in some degree with the people concerned, so that he told of the most astonishing impossibilities much as he would have reminded any one of what had happened yesterday.

I do not know when he first read De Foe carefully, but I remember his great interest long since in that master of realism. I have no doubt that he thought him a much greater man than Richardson or Fielding. I never heard him say so, but I do not remember his ever speaking of the authors of "Clarissa" or "Tom Jones," nor were those books in the house. On the other hand, he often spoke with appreciation of

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De Foe, assuring us that "Colonel Jack" was a fine piece of work, as it certainly is in the direction of interest to him.

This mingling of realism and extravagance was, of course, by no means a peculiarity of my father's. It was a fairly general characteristic of the short story writers of his time and some years before. The two elements are very noteworthy in Hawthorne, though not often mingled in one production. So with Poe, who more often realized the combination, as in "A Descent into the Maelstrom," for instance. "The Man Without a Country" is in this respect all of a piece with "The Diamond Lens" or "One of the Thirty Pieces." In American life, too, there is (or was) this mingling of the imaginative or the ideal or often extravagant fancy, and the realism that is practical and actual. It is not a matter of importance to point it out, but it serves as a way of getting together some of my recollections and impressions of my father, and accommodating them to the time of which he was a characteristic figure. I never try, nor have I ever tried, to form an impartial estimate of his powers. I never consider him or his life or his work from the standpoint of a student. I am always content that he should be a father and friend, seen at very short range, with all the advantages and possible inaccuracies of such seeing. But in spite of this general attitude ideas crystallize in one's mind, and I find this combination of powers, so marked in his writing, to be illustrated by a good deal that I remember in his life.

One thing that every one notices of him is a very wide range of interest which manifests itself in all sorts of ways. He did not like to be limited, sometimes even by fact. He was never entirely content with the realism of his own study, house, church, town; he wanted larger impressions. Although a devoted Bostonian, yet, as with Burke, nothing less than "whole America"—or, more accurately, the whole world—would really do for him. It was a pleasure to him that wheat grown in Dakota would go and satisfy hunger on the banks of the Ganges. He liked to have to do with outlandish and out-of-the-way people and things. Mr. Cushing and five Zuñi chiefs once came to our house to lunch. It was a curious sight to see these solemn gentlemen in paint and feathers sitting about in our every-day dining-room, dancing earnestly in the front hall, with uncouth cries, and carrying on religious rites in a circle on the parlor floor in front of the open fire. I am sure my father liked it much better than he would have liked even the Governor, the Bishop, the President of the College, or even more distinguished personages. I am sure we boys did. That dreadful dinner in "His Level Best," where a stray Swede, a Bohemian professor, a Dutch planter from Table Bay, a Japanese prince, Dr. South the minister, and a Brahmin gentleman, one of the first-fruits of the Serampore Mission, all dined with the Boothbys, together with two deaf and dumb dressmakers—that horrible feast never occurred at our house, at least not in my recollection, but that may have been out of regard for my dear mother, whose tastes were more consistently domestic. Still, though such things never really did take place, I'm sure my father would have been much pleased if they had, even if business had called him from the house so that he could not have enjoyed them himself.

Strictly speaking, perhaps, all this was no extravagance, but a feeling for a larger and more complete knowledge. Even as a boy he had had the same wide range of interest and the desire to get things into practical form. I used rather to wonder at his tales of his youth. We boys, as I recollect, did not have much intelligent curiosity. We were imaginative enough, and played vigorously in the nursery, the green parlor, or out in the yard, in many imaginary worlds of our own creation. But my father's anecdotes of his own childhood always impressed me as being different from our own way of looking at things. He used to try experiments in chemistry in the house in Hamilton Place, made electrical batteries that I believe he read about in "Harry and Lucy," and learned to set type in the printing office of the Advertiser. And it was so through life. His interests ranged widely, and he was curious to understand many things. He

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liked the sense of the remote and the adventurous; he also, as a rule, wanted to put his impressions and ideas into practical shape.

Whether this feeling for the romantic, the amusing, the extravagant even, were more than desire for flavor I cannot say. But flavor, as we may call it, is an important thing. He wanted life to be interesting. He wanted to know how and what it was, but he wanted it to be interesting. That, I take it, is the key to his historical method. He used often to talk to me of how important it was that a history should be interesting. If it were not interesting, people would not read it, so that it might as well not have been written. So he worked to have his history interesting, full of local color, lifelike. Yet he would often spend endless time in establishing accurately minute points—often far more time than I, who belonged to a more scholastic epoch, could think worth while. I presume there are errors in his historical writing, but they must be chiefly errors of judgment, or errors in matters that he did not consider important, for he certainly was unwearied in research about anything he did consider important. He would often spend a couple of hours and write a dozen letters to determine some very small point that came up in his mind, and if he could not find out at once he would remember it sometimes for years until he met with the person or book that could tell him.

In household affairs he was as characteristic as anywhere else. Thus, when we first went to Matunuck, he had the problem of arranging the household order of seven children between three years and seventeen. He at once conceived a military establishment, which he created and carried on with unwearied spirit and imagination from day to day by general orders which he read at breakfast. The system, though never ground in upon us, served excellently as a means of managing what might readily have become a horde of only slightly civilized savages. It was nothing very remarkable, and lasted only so long as it was needed, but so long it did last, and in its time gave the machinery necessary for carrying on the household, and yet with a certain imaginative charm that, I fancy, we all appreciated.

We saw more of him at Matunuck than in Roxbury. In the city we had school in the morning, all sorts of occupations in the afternoon, and home lessons in the evening, while he was busy, too, morning, noon, and night, either (mysteriously to our minds) in the study, where we rarely went in earlier days, or at the church or elsewhere downtown. But at Matunuck, although he always had work to do for part of the day, and we often had excursions that took us off the place, yet we were more likely to do things together than in Boston, perhaps partly because there were more things that we could readily do together. He could not play baseball very well (he used to speak of cricket in his boyhood), nor could he well have joined many of our games in Roxbury, even had he had time. But in the summer he was as fond as we were of the woods and fields, the pond and the ocean. Of course, being at that time fifty and over, he enjoyed them in rather a different way. He liked to sketch and botanize, for instance, which in those years we rarely did. I do not remember ever to have seen him fishing, but the other things that we did he used to do, though as we grew older our more violent or vigorous sports had little charm for him. We would run races or play leap-frog on the beach after a bath, but he preferred to sit under the shelter with the other grown-ups, and hold sand congresses that appeared to us very staid.

He liked Matunuck partly because it rescued him from a too rigorous application of the larger life. When we first went there, there was no telegraph or telephone, no railway nearer than seven miles, no mail but four times a week, no friend's house save Mr. Weeden's and the neighboring farmers'. His passion for the ends of the earth, for having things touched by the extravagance of the remote, for having things out of the way and unfamiliar, was only one element in his make-up. He liked to think of such things, and now and then to experiment with them—for he was a great traveler—but he also liked to be at home and follow out his own destiny without

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being burst in upon by little boys from Dakota or little girls from the Ganges. He liked family occasions; he would look around the table with pleasure and say, "Only those God made here." You can see that, too, in his writings easily enough. The great charm of having a double was that one could live to one's self for a while—to one's self, and one's wife, and one's children. The enormous extravagance of the Brick Moon ends with the note of the charming life at Pigeon Cove—six families only, thirty-seven souls in all, including two babies born that summer, "a little world of our own." "Can it be possible that all human sympathies can thrive, and all human powers be exercised, and all human joys increase, if we live with all our might with the thirty or forty people next to us, telegraphing kindly to all other people, to be sure? Can it be possible that our passion for large cities, and large parties, and large theaters, and large churches, develops no faith nor hope nor love which would not find aliment and exercise in a little world of our own?"

For this breadth of range was also balanced by great sanity and common sense. He was a great philanthropist and great in his work in and with charitable organizations. But he would never have sent blankets to Africa while people were cold at home. He would never have neglected Boston for Borrioboola Gha; in fact, he was practically rather indifferent to Borrioboola Gha. Whether this was because of any thought-out system, or because his practical mind demanded that he should constantly be dealing with actual problems close at hand, I cannot say. He certainly did deal with the problems at hand, and, understanding very clearly that one man could not do everything, he left many problems of "the larger life" to others.

I think, however, that this feeling was often called forth, not by the pressure of the life at hand nor by any weakness of the appeal of far-away interests, but by the readiness with which such larger life drifted into formalism. He was always dead set against the machinery of life as machinery. The worst exaggerations of "His Level Best" and "My Double" are only hardened, petrified forms of what might once have had vital energy. "Boards are made of wood," he used to say, meaning of course boards of management; "they are long and narrow." So in the beginning of "Ten Times One is Ten," the Harry Wadsworth Club as a formal organization gets no further than a discussion of name, covenant, and constitution. He was a Republican in politics, but I think that at heart he must have had much sympathy with the Jeffersonian view, that that government is best that gets on with as little governing as possible.

One may be curious as to just why formalism and machinery and observance and creed were distasteful to him. They are not in themselves necessarily uninteresting, certainly not to the historian. In religious matters where his feeling was strongest, I do not suppose that he disliked ritual as such. As I remember him, he always preached in a splendid silk gown in a high magnificent pulpit. He always liked to read the psalms responsively, either to Mr. Lang's fine improvisations on the organ opposite, or to the congregation standing up. He had a great love, I am sure, for the beauty of holiness. Why any hatred of formalism? Perhaps for this reason, that when any act has become formal, mechanical, petrified, whoever performs the act is in great danger of performing it to himself and not for another human creature or for the Lord God. And the personal intrusion into what was meant to be something else, that he could not stand. For him selfishness was sin.

He was not much given to analyzing or explaining. But I suppose he held that if a minister says a formal prayer or a formal creed, while he may really get out of himself, he is in great danger of not doing so. So with the secretary of a board for philanthropic activity: he may work as simply as the Lord Jesus worked in Galilee, but he is more than likely not to. And so with any one of the definite and regular forms and observances that are needed to carry on a larger life. One may doubtless do such things and still be genuine and loving and sympathetic—he could be so himself—but there was more than a chance

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that in the routine one would be bent on carrying out only the regular daily duty, thinking only of finishing up the work and getting off to enjoy one's self. And this sort of selfishness, or indeed any sort, will never do for him, for he really loves other people too much to have any sympathy with that temper which turns from others into self-absorption. He likes people and so is a great believer in human nature. I suppose that is one great reason for his being a Unitarian; not because he would deny the divinity of the Lord Jesus, but because he will not countenance the denial of the divinity of man. The great thing that makes people love him is that he loves them. Men and women are often interesting, but often they are not; they are often very tedious, very exasperating, very disgusting, terrible bores, terrible fools, and terrible wrecks. Still, they have not destroyed his confidence in them, and they never will. He believes in people, as in the people.

I suspect that gets to the bottom of it. He likes to be at Washington now, because he sees all sorts of people from all parts of the country and the world, because he touches life at so many sides or surfaces—a great many, of course, but still he does really touch it, and so lives freshly and genuinely. He likes to have the interests of life fresh—fresh and new and strange and unimagined before. He likes all those things. But then he is a realist; he wants things genuine. And they are genuine, as life always has been to him. That is perhaps the reason why at eighty-five he is as young as his sons or grandsons or great-grandsons.

THE IDAHO MURDER TRIAL

BY LUKE GRANT

FRANK STEUNENBERG, a respected citizen and former Governor of Idaho, was assassinated December 30, 1905. Almost at the threshold of his door he was literally blown to pieces by a bomb placed with such devilish ingenuity that a Russian Anarchist might well shudder at the thought of employing such an agent of destruction.

After more than twelve months' incarceration in an Idaho prison, the alleged murderers are about to be brought to trial. The eyes of the entire country are centered on Idaho. It is no ordinary murder trial. Important issues, some of them without a parallel in the history of the country, are involved. In a degree, the rights and liberties of American citizens are at stake, for the Supreme Court of the United States has in this case, according to the dissenting opinion of one of its own members, virtually legalized the crime of kidnapping, when committed by State officials.

Shall death on the gallows end the career of the leaders of the worst criminal conspiracy that can be conceived, or shall the lives of innocent men be sacrificed in the furtherance of a counter-conspiracy? Is the outcome of the trial to be the dramatic climax of a series of murders planned in wholesale fashion by men of power and influence in the world of labor, or will it result in disclosing a plot on the part of men influential in the world of finance to send to the gallows the leaders of those who have thwarted them in their plans? Those are the questions to be determined by an Idaho jury, and circumstantial evidence is not wanting to show either or both conspiracies.

Will the men be accorded a fair trial? Governor Gooding, of Idaho, says they will. "There is no question about a fair trial," he says. "No higher class of citizens can be found than those who live in Canyon County. They have no prejudice against any class of citizens, be they laborers or capitalists."

"It all depends on the jury," says an attorney for the defense. The same remark might be applied to a murder trial in Boston or New York, but it would not have the same significance.

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Throughout the mining districts of the West class lines have been so sharply drawn that justice seems lost sight of. "Hang them on general principles" is the epitome of the feeling on one side, and "Get them off, right or wrong," is the feeling on the other side. The question of the guilt or innocence of the men seems to be incidental. Both sides have helped to create this feeling. The mine-owners and their representatives have been pictured as vultures watching over their prey. On the other hand, the Western Federation of Miners has been pictured as a lawless, anarchistic organization whose leaders have instigated a number of crimes that have shocked civilization.

In order to make clear the situation, it is necessary to take up the story at the beginning. Frank Steunenberg had few known enemies. He was elected Governor of Idaho as a Populist in 1897, largely by the votes of the miners whose accredited leaders are now on trial charged with complicity in his murder. During a strike in the Cœur d'Alene district in 1899 a mill at Wardner was blown up by a mob of union miners. The sheriff of the county sympathized with the strikers and made no effort to bring the ringleaders to justice. Governor Steunenberg was appealed to. The State militia was serving in the Philippines, and President McKinley sent Federal troops to the district. Lawlessness was put down by the most drastic measures. Men were arrested and thrown into a "bull-pen" in hundreds. Others were driven from the district by the military forces. Governor Steunenberg, "the union printer," was held responsible by the miners. The strike was forgotten by all except those directly interested. Other industrial conflicts had arisen between the mine-owners and the miners. Other acts of violence had been committed, and order had again been restored at the point of the bayonet. Steunenberg had returned to private life, and his connection with the strike had apparently been forgotten, when the country was shocked by the news of his assassination. It was a cruel, cold-blooded murder. A bomb had been placed under the gate leading to his residence in a little suburb of Caldwell, and so arranged that the victim in opening the gate fired the infernal machine that blew him into eternity.

The little town of Caldwell was stunned. Governor Gooding and other State officials hurried to Caldwell on a special train. Every train leaving the town was watched and every avenue of escape closely guarded. Harry Orchard was arrested and charged with the crime. He was one of the few men who was not known in the town and who could not give a satisfactory account of himself. A detective named McParland was called into the case. He was known as the man who unearthed the Mollie Maguire conspiracy in Pennsylvania years ago. Orchard is said to have confessed to McParland that he placed the bomb which killed Steunenberg. He said he was assisted by J. L. Simpkins, an organizer for the Western Federation of Miners. Simpkins escaped from the State, and has never been apprehended. In his confession (the details of which have never been fully made known) Orchard implicated Charles H. Moyer, President of the Western Federation of Miners, William D. Haywood, Secretary of the same organization, and George A. Pettibone, a former member of the union, who conducted a store in Denver in which it is alleged the bomb was manufactured.

That Orchard killed Steunenberg is not denied by attorneys for the defense. That much of his confession they admit. They deny, however, that he was the agent of the Western Federation of Miners, hired by its officials. Indeed, they doubt that Orchard ever made such a statement, for no one aside from the State authorities has seen the confession. That Orchard had a personal motive in killing Steunenberg the defense will endeavor to prove to the jury. At the time of the Cœur d'Alene troubles Orchard was working in that district. He was one of the strikers driven out by the troops. He had at the time a sixth interest in the Hercules Mine, which he had to dispose of for some $600. A few weeks previous to the assassination of Steunenberg, Orchard visited his old haunts in the Cœur d'Alene district.

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He met his former associates who were interested with him in the Hercules Mine. That property had been developed, and was valued at $6,000,000. Orchard's former companions were rich, while he was virtually a wanderer on the face of the earth. He blamed Steunenberg for his condition, and in this frame of mind he went to Caldwell, determined to wreak vengeance on the man he held responsible. The murder of Steunenberg was the result. This is the theory of the defense.

That the State authorities of Idaho and Colorado are in league with the mine-owners to railroad to the gallows the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners is believed by many persons who cannot be accused of condoning murder. It is a serious charge, but certain events which followed the arrest and alleged confession of Orchard tend to give it a semblance of truth. Neither Moyer, Haywood, nor Pettibone was in Idaho at the time the murder was committed. That fact was well known to the authorities of both Idaho and Colorado. Under the law the men were not fugitives from justice, and could not be extradited. But the Idaho authorities were determined to get them regardless of law. The prosecuting attorney of Canyon County made affidavit that the men were in Idaho at the time of the murder. He knew that in doing so he was committing perjury, declares Attorney Darrow, counsel for the defendants, and Governor Gooding knew when he signed the requisition papers that the affidavit was false. Some apologies have been offered for the commission of these acts. One says that the Idaho statutes make accessories principals in a murder charge; another, that they were done to prevent habeas corpus proceedings in Colorado. The facts remain that the papers were signed, and that twelve armed deputies were hurried to Denver to secure the accused men. The requisition papers were presented to Governor McDonald, of Colorado, on February 15, 1906. He promptly honored them, although he knew the men wanted were not fugitives from justice, as claimed by the Idaho authorities. The men could have been arrested at any time during the next two days, but they were not. The fact that their extradition was sought was carefully kept a secret. Late Saturday night, February 17, when all courts were closed, the men were arrested and thrown into jail. They were given no opportunity of communicating with their attorneys, or even with their families. Early next morning they were placed on a special train and rushed to Boise, Idaho. The special train did not stop at stations, but changed engines at isolated points along the route. Once at their destination, the prisoners were placed in solitary confinement and treated as if they had already been convicted of, instead of being charged with, a crime. The theory of law was reversed, say friends of the accused, and the men were presumed to be guilty before they had even been indicted. It is a coincidence that Governor McDonald, who signed the warrants for the arrest of the men, and Pettibone, one of the defendants, were brought up together as boys, in the same town in Erie County, Pennsylvania.

The manner in which the accused men were taken from Colorado raised a storm of protest. It was declared that they had been kidnapped. Legal steps were at once taken to release them on habeas corpus proceedings. Suit was brought in the Supreme Court of Idaho. That tribunal decided that—

> "One who commits a crime against the laws of a State, whether committed by him while in person on its soil, or absent in a foreign jurisdiction and acting through some other agency or medium, has no vested right of asylum in a sister State," and the fact "that a wrong is committed against him in the manner or method pursued in subjecting his person to the jurisdiction of the complaining State, and that such wrong is redressible either in the civil or criminal courts, can constitute no legal or just reason why he himself should not answer the charge against him when brought before the proper tribunal."

From the State Supreme Court the matter was carried to the United States District Court, with the same result. An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, and it affirmed the decision of the lower court. The decision is interesting. It says:

> If he [Pettibone] should be acquitted by the jury, then no question will remain as to a

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violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States by the methods adopted to secure his personal presence within the State of Idaho.

In another part it says:

It is true as contended by the petitioner that if he was not a fugitive from justice within the meaning of the Constitution, no warrant for his arrest could have been properly or legally issued by the Governor of Colorado. But it was not shown by proof before the Governor of Colorado that the petitioner alleged in the requisition papers to be a fugitive from justice was not one, nor was the jurisdiction of any court sitting in that State invoked to prevent his being taken out of the State and carried to Idaho. That he had no reasonable opportunity to present these facts before being taken from Colorado constitutes no legal reason why he should be discharged from the custody of the Idaho authorities.

In a dissenting opinion Justice McKenna said:

In the case at bar, the States through their officers are the offenders. They by an illegal exertion of power deprived the accused of a constitutional right. Kidnapping is a crime, pure and simple. It is difficult to accomplish; hazardous at every step. All the officers of the law are supposed to be on guard against it. But how is it when the law becomes the kidnapper? When the officers of the law, using its forms and exerting its powers, become abductors? This is not a distinction without a difference. It is another form of the crime of kidnapping, distinguished from that committed by an individual only by circumstances. If a State may say to one within her borders, "I will not inquire how you came here; I must execute my laws and remit you to proceedings against those who have wronged you," may she so plead against her own offense? May she claim that by mere physical presence of the accused within her borders, the accused person is within her jurisdiction deprived of his constitutional rights though he has been brought there by violence? Constitutional rights the accused in this case certainly did have, and valuable ones.

In his opinion Justice McKenna says that the right to resist removal from a State is not a right of asylum, but is the right to be free from molestation. He says:

It is the right of personal liberty in its most complete sense. . . . It is to be hoped that our criminal jurisprudence will not need for its efficient administration the destruction of either the right or the means to enforce it. The decision in the case at bar, as I view it, brings us perilously near both results.

But the manner in which the accused labor leaders were taken from Colorado is not the only evidence of a conspiracy on the part of the State authorities and mine-owners, say friends of the defendants. Confined with Orchard for a time in a prison in Boise was a man named Steve Adams. He was a member of the Western Federation, and was suspected of complicity in the Independence outrage and other murders in Colorado. He was said to have made a confession of his guilt. Adams secured his release on a writ of habeas corpus, and immediately went over to the side of the defense. He repudiated the alleged confession, declaring that it was all written out and that he was compelled to sign it on pain of death. He told some strange tales about the way in which the Orchard confession was secured. Adams was rearrested and charged with the murder of a "claim-jumper" in Shoshone County some years before. This the defense believes was done in the hope that he would be convicted and that he might be induced to testify against Moyer and Haywood on the promise of securing his own liberty. At each term of court the defense has been ready to proceed with the trial. The delays have been caused by the prosecution. If the State has proof of the guilt of the prisoners, why the delay in bringing them to trial? asks the defense. Why has it been necessary to keep the accused men confined for more than a year if the only witness against them had confessed before they were arrested?

What weight will the testimony of a confessed co-conspirator have with the jury? It has been charged by the miners that Orchard was a detective employed by the Cripple Creek Mine Owners' Association. The mine-owners deny this, and there is no proof that he was. Those who know him say that he is a desperate character, who might be hired to do murder by any one who paid him his price, whether miner or mine-owner. For years he has been known as the intimate friend of Haywood. At the time of his arrest he was wanted by the Colorado authorities on the charge of blowing up the railway station at Independence and causing the death of thirteen non-union miners. He is said to have confessed to that crime and to having committed twenty-six murders as

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the agent of the "inner circle" of the Western Federation of Miners.

The prisoners will have the advantage of the best legal talent that can be procured. E. F. Richardson, of Denver, known throughout the West as a lawyer of great ability, has associated with him in the case Clarence S. Darrow, of Chicago, whose famous argument to a jury in another conspiracy case in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, a few years ago resulted in an acquittal. That the men on trial in Idaho will require all the ability of their counsel to secure their liberty seems certain. Even should they be acquitted of the charge of planning the murder of Steunenberg, numerous murders committed in Colorado within the past few years are charged against them. There is strong circumstantial evidence that a conspiracy to commit wholesale murder actually existed as charged by the prosecution in this case. In addition to being implicated in the murder of Steunenberg, the leaders now in jail are accused, according to the alleged Orchard confession, of planning the murders of Lyte Gregory, a detective mysteriously killed in West Denver three years ago; Arthur Collins, superintendent of a mine at Telluride, shot through a window in his own home; Martin Gleason, superintendent of a mine in Cripple Creek, thrown down a shaft; Martin B. Walley, killed by the explosion of a bomb placed in a vacant lot through which Chief Justice Gabbert, of the Supreme Court, was accustomed to walk; the blowing up of the Independence railway platform, and a list of other crimes of the most revolting nature.

To comprehend the extent of this conspiracy it is necessary to know something of the history of the Western Federation of Miners. That history is a record of strikes, bloodshed, and lawlessness. It is true the lawlessness has not always been on the side of the miners, but they or their leaders have been responsible for much of it. Armed force has been advocated by its leaders since President Boyce in 1897 urged every union to organize a rifle club. In a speech in a convention of the Industrial Workers of the World in Chicago in July, 1905, Haywood said that the American Federation of Labor had some 2,000,000 members, while the Western Federation of Miners had 28,000, "but," he said, "with that small membership we can strike more terror to the hearts of the capitalists than can the American Federation of Labor." Terror they have struck, not only to the hearts of the capitalists, but to all who have in any way incurred their displeasure. A large majority of the men who compose the membership of the Western Federation differ but little from the men in other labor organizations. They are honest, hard-working miners, with as much respect for law and order as other citizens in the communities where they live. It should be understood that the Western Federation is not on trial, although some of its friends are anxious to have it appear that it is. It is the leaders who are accused of the crimes and atrocities which have made the organization a byword among labor unions. It may be said that the members are responsible for the leaders, but this is, perhaps, less true of the Western Federation than of any other labor organization in the country. The Western Federation is pledged to Socialism through its convention. Socialism is supposed to be the essence of democracy. The rank and file in the Socialist party are supposed to govern. But the Western Federation is a bureaucracy. It is ruled by a few individuals who have assumed absolute power. When the convention declared for Socialism in 1903, the question was never submitted to the membership for a vote. Privately the officials admit that it is doubtful if the membership as a whole would vote favorably on such a policy. So the visionaries who rule the organization did not give the membership a chance to defeat the revolutionary policy adopted by the convention. When the strike was ordered which led to the reign of lawlessness in 1903 and 1904, the members did not get a chance to vote on it. If they had, in all probability it would not have taken place. When the Western Federation withdrew from the American Federation of Labor some ten years ago, the step was taken by the officers. The membership had nothing to say about it. It is an open question to-day whether the

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membership, if given the opportunity, would not repudiate the whole policy and seek affiliation with the family of trade unions under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

The abolition of the wage system and class hatred are constantly preached to the membership through the weekly publication of the union. "Labor produces all wealth; wealth belongs to the producer thereof," is the motto emblazoned on the official paper and the working cards of the members. This saying may be interpreted in different ways. How far it is responsible for the pilfering of ore in high-grade mines is problematic, but the mine-owners assert that since the Federation rule was broken in the Cripple Creek district they have saved $3,000,000 a year from that source alone. The truth of the statement may be questioned, however, since the mine-owners recently abolished the card system enforced for two years in the hope that the old miners who were deported might return.

The deportation by the State militia in 1903 of union miners from the Cripple Creek and Telluride districts has often been pictured as the most outrageous proceeding ever perpetrated by public officials under the guise of law. That innocent men were made to suffer there is no doubt. If it can be justified at all, it can be justified only on the ground of necessity which knows no law. But if that deportation, harsh as it may have been, is weighed against a former deportation of non-union men by a mob of union miners, armed with rifles ordered by union officials and paid for with union funds, it was humane in comparison. It was an application of the doctrine of force so consistently advocated by the leaders of the miners themselves, say the mine-owners. They were beaten at their own game, and their plaint was heard all over the country. Only two years previously an armed mob of miners, led by the president of the union, drove some one hundred non-union men over a rough mountain trail after having compelled them to throw away their shoes and march barefooted. Stragglers who fell behind were brutally beaten, and a few were shot and maimed for life.

It was not open lawlessness such as that described, however, that made the miners feared by those who opposed them. The open outbreaks were infrequent, and it was only during strikes that the atmosphere was charged with the spirit which makes mob violence possible. It was the secret murders that were a common occurrence that kept the whole community in dread. It is true that few, if any, of those murders have been brought home to men in a position of power in the union. Such men have on a few occasions been indicted and acquitted when brought to trial. This, perhaps, need not be wondered at when it is understood that juries were afraid to return a verdict of guilt. As an illustration, a watchman caught two union miners in the act of stealing ore. They were tried and acquitted. A short time afterward the watchman's house was blown up with dynamite.

When Sherman Bell filled the courtroom and surrounded the building with soldiers when some union miners were to be tried, it did not look like according men a fair trial by a jury of their peers; but it can be shown that on other occasions an attorney defending union miners simply showed the affiliations of his clients and a union jury did the rest.

That an "inner circle" existed in the Western Federation of Miners is a matter of common belief. That the men in this "inner circle" are responsible for the crimes that have been committed against those who had incurred the displeasure of the union is also believed by many. Men prominent in organized labor circles in Denver and other cities privately shake their heads and say that "it looks bad," while they publicly denounce the manner in which Moyer and Haywood were taken from Colorado. Whether an "inner circle" exists, and whether Moyer and Haywood are members of it, are questions for an Idaho jury to determine when it has heard all the evidence. To the impartial observer it appears more than a coincidence that dozens of individuals who had troubles with the union met violent deaths. The mine-owners have resorted to many unscrupulous methods to discredit the miners' organization, but it is hardly

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conceivable that they would wantonly murder non-union men in their employ. It is hardly conceivable that they could have planned to blow up the station platform at Independence and kill the men who were helping them to operate their mines. Haywood pretends to believe that they did, but few will agree with him. The miners assert that when General Reardon, President of the Mine Owners' Association, learned of the result of the explosion he was heard to exclaim: "My God! we did not intend to kill anybody!"

When the militia raided the union headquarters in Victor, they found a number of group photographs of miners. Certain men in the groups were marked with a cross in lead pencil. Their names were written on the backs of the photographs. On one photograph were the names of five men. One was Charles McCormick, superintendent of the Vindicator mine. Another was Mel Beck. Both men were killed by a dynamite explosion when the fatal "accident" took place in the mine. A line was drawn through their names on the back of the photograph, which might indicate that the score had been settled. It is true that an official investigation showed that the machinery which operated the elevator in the shaft was in a defective condition. The elevator might have fallen, as was claimed by the union men and their friends, but the markings on the photographs looked suspicious. The miners say that the names were written on the photographs by detectives in the employ of the mine-owners, and left in convenient places for the militia to find them. As proof that the mine-owners have resorted to such tactics the miners cite the case against Sherman Parker, President of the miners' union of Cripple Creek. Parker was being tried for an attempt to wreck a train loaded with non-union miners, when a detective named McKinney, a witness for the mine-owners, admitted under cross-examination that he himself attempted to wreck the train, and was hired to do it by the Mine Owners' Association. He first tried to induce some of the miners to commit the crime, and, failing in that, he attempted it himself with a view to shifting the blame on the union.

These things make it difficult to get at the truth in the whole affair. Whether the men about to be tried are convicted or acquitted of the crime with which they are charged, the more one studies the workings of the Western Federation of Miners, the more irresistibly is the impression borne home that the teachings of its officers are dangerous to the forces which make for law and order. Incendiary utterances against the Government and its constituted authorities are not likely to increase respect for the law. If the officers of the Western Federation are guiltless of all the crimes laid at their doors, they are at least guilty of teaching a doctrine that might easily incite weaker men to commit such crimes.

Important as are some of the issues in this trial, there is no occasion for the hysteria that is being manifested in certain quarters. Socialist papers and other radical publications are trying to make it appear that this is a death-struggle between organized labor and organized capital. It is nothing of the kind. It is a trial of men charged with one of the blackest murders ever committed in this country. If they are given a fair trial by a jury of their peers and found guilty, to say that their conviction means a deathblow to organized labor is worse than an insult to the organized wage-workers of the country. The labor movement rests on no such unsafe foundation. When Debs was sent to jail during the American Railway Union strike in 1894, the same hysterical writers and speakers declared it meant the death of organized labor. Debs served his sentence, and the American Railway Union was disrupted. The railway brotherhoods are to-day stronger than at any time in their history. The mere possibility of innocent men being hanged is serious to contemplate. It is also a serious matter that murders such as have been committed in the West can happen and the perpetrators escape unwhipped of justice. But the future of organized labor, even in the mining camps of the West, is not dependent on the result of the Moyer-Haywood trial.

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Comment on Current Books

Among the Novels

Mr. Oxenham's novels are less well known than they deserve to be, although two or three of them, such as "God's Prisoner" and "Barbe of Grand Bayou," have been praised by many judicious critics. In "The Long Road" he has exceeded his former work in human sympathy, quiet charm, and dramatic force. The story is of Siberia in the early days. The basis of the tale is found in a singular decree (an actual historical fact, we are told) by which a provincial governor ordered a man under his displeasure to move constantly from place to place, never to remain in one town longer than ten days. Stepan, this perpetual wanderer, builds a house on wheels, and with his wife and two children journeys from village to village, over the wild steppes —peddler, newsbearer, and friend of the peasants. In the summer the little family have idyllic days in the beautiful woods; in the winter they suffer severe hardships and barely escape from wolves, cold, and starvation. One by one wife and children die, and there is left to Stepan only the hope of revenge on his persecutor. An opportunity offers, but his hand is held because a little girl, in name and appearance like his own little Katinka, turns aside his hatred. He disappears far into the northern wilds, living with savage beasts and Eskimos, passes through a period of insanity, but finally regains reason and faith in God, and with his now battered house on wheels resumes his rounds on the "long road," a sweet old man, beloved by children and by the poor. "While he lived he was an institution; when he died he became a legend." This simple story is told with not a few dramatic incidents, and with notable sincerity of feeling and unity of literary purpose. It is touching in its pathos, but always alive with action and character, so that it is never dolorous or depressing. For freshness of sentiment and vividness of narrative it seems to us unexcelled by any recent romance. (The Long Road. By John Oxenham. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.)

In "The Turn of the Balance" Brand Whitlock bitterly arraigns the present system of administration of law in our country. Corruption, incompetence, neglect, fierce prejudice, and general injustice are its characteristics, according to this unrelievedly grim presentation. The worst of it is that there is no gleam of hope; the few feeble efforts at reform undertaken by one of the young lawyers, who has a human feeling, are utterly fruitless. The big, remorseless machine rolls on, crushing its victims. Punishment is not remedial. The lives of two young offenders are traced to the bitter end—and all the effect of proffered help for them is to increase the horror of their ruin. The author shows a knowledge of the cruel and selfish phases of our civilization, but while his heart burns with indignation his eyes seem blinded to every ray of hope to be found in purity, righteousness, and sound judgment. Profoundly depressing is the effect of this story, yet the author surely must have been moved by a desire to better the conditions he describes with great power. Is nothing to be done? (The Turn of the Balance. By Brand Whitlock. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, Ind. $1.50.)

Plot-stories are of late more abundant than novels of character-depiction. One of those now before us, Mr. Quiller-Couch's "Poison Island" (Charles Scribner's Sons, $1.50), has both elements, however, and one feels that the author really cares more for the people than for the plot. The story is of the type of Stevenson's "Treasure Island;" thus, buried gold, ex-pirates, a boy with a secret chart, and a company voyaging in search of treasure are common to both stories. In the end Mr. Quiller-Couch springs some remarkable surprises on his reader, and the closing incidents are even so bizarre and unnatural that the reader suspects that the author is laughing in his sleeve at the credulity of romance-lovers. More consistent and better worked out as to plot is Mr. W. T. Eldridge's "Hilma" (Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, $1.50). This belongs in that class of which Anthony Hope's "Prisoner of Zenda" is the prototype. A brave and resourceful American is thrown into the dynastic plots of a petty imaginary nation in eastern Europe, and plots and counterplots develop in rapid and thrilling succession. One does not need to guess that the American foils the political villains who try to keep Princess Hilma from her throne, nor that he loves the beautiful young queen, and that both sacrifice love to duty. The tale is built up in a workmanlike way, and has a reasonable number of thrills and sudden turns. "Martin Hewitt, Investigator," is a new edition of a collection of detective stories in which Arthur Morrison (who, by the way, has done much better things than detective tales) almost avowedly imitates Conan Doyle. Martin is as clever as Sherlock, and some of

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these mysteries are capitally invented. (Harper & Brothers, New York, $1.25.) Somewhat similar in character but much cruder is "The Thinking Machine," by Jaques Futrelle (Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, $1.50). The author's ingenuity is great, but the element of probability is not always maintained.

In another story, Margaret Potter shows us the depth of social corruption in Russia among the nobility within the court circle. She writes intensely, and constructs a tragedy upon well-known and acknowledged foundations. The Princess Catharine, of noble mind and nature, lived a life corroded and crippled by the sins of those nearest to her. The touches of history involving Russia and Austria are introduced with dramatic effect, but we must warn readers that "The Princess" is immeasurably sad. An occult strain runs through the novel, managed with frankness and some skill. Ivan Gregoriev, writer of great symphonies, is permitted, after his death, to become the messenger of truth, the healing, ministering spirit to Catharine, and later to Vittoria, bringing to each wounded heart a knowledge of the meaning of existence, shadowy but real enough to them. (The Princess. By Margaret Potter. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.50.)

Mr. Bullen's love of the sea and his conscientious realism in treating facts as facts, while often interpreting them in a poetic way, are so well known that he really did not need to preface this tale with the statement that it might be read without danger of acquiring false information about the sea or about the ways of its servants. As a story, strictly speaking, the book lacks proportion and construction; but as a picture of the sailor's life in port and on board ship, and a narrative of adventure and incident that might easily befall a boy apprentice, the book is capital, and will be relished by young readers. (Frank Brown, Sea Apprentice. By Frank T. Bullen, F.R.G.S. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.50.)

Mr. Owen Wister's humor is always genuine and racy, and in this little burlesque he fairly riots in absurd specimens of super-simplified spelling. This fantastic skit is immensely amusing at its outset, but becomes a little tedious before the end. (How Doth the Simple Spelling Bee. By Owen Wister. The Macmillan Company, New York. 50c.)

Dampier's Voyages A new and attractive edition in two volumes, with portrait, maps, and a brief sketch of Dampier's life by the editor, Mr. John Masefield. Dampier was not always a picturesque or lively writer, but he had a tremendous story of adventure, fighting, and discovery to tell, and, apart from the value of his "Voyages" as a historical record, there is in his faithful chronicle much that is human and vital. At his best, Admiral Smyth wrote, "the information flows as from a mind which possesses the mastery of its subject; he delights and instructs by the truth and discernment with which he narrates the incidents of a peculiar life." Buccaneer, naturalist, mariner, and thrice a circumnavigator of the globe, Dampier was emphatically a man of action, and in his way a thinker as well as a really great observer. (Dampier's Voyages. By Captain William Dampier. Edited by John Masefield. In 2 vols. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $7.50, net.)

Eighteenth-Century Muck-Raking Those misguided persons who read the New York Town Topics might enjoy these volumes. Their title, "The Real Louis XV.," indicates what one might expect. It is true that the period in which that monarch lived was emphatically one for the muck-raker, but Louis seemed fully equal to his time. The author has probably told his kind of story fairly well. But, if one must read scandal, and especially about this particular king, the more vivacious "Louis XV. et Sa Court," by Dumas *père*, is, we think, to be preferred. (The Real Louis Fifteenth. By Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew C. P. Haggard, D.S.O. In 2 vols. D. Appleton &. Co., New York.)

How It Works A good title, this, for a book of clear, simple explanation of the operation of the practical mechanisms of the steam-engine, electric dynamos and motors, the telegraph, the wireless telegraph, talking-machines, heating and lighting apparatus, and much else. There are numerous diagrams. The book is not intended for technical students, but is especially adapted for young men interested in science and invention. For these and for the general reader the volume furnishes much that is practical and lucid. (How It Works. By Archibald Williams. Thomas Nelson & Sons, New York. $1.25.)

Labor and Capital This useful monograph in the form of a letter to "My Labor Friend," and written in a characteristically clear style, ought to find a wide reading in labor circles; but for this purpose it should be printed in cheaper form and circulated through the news companies. Professor Smith appears to us curiously to misinterpret the doctrine of the "single tax," which its advocates have repeatedly explained is a "tax" only in

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name; in reality it is a land rent, based on the idea that land is not a subject of private ownership but belongs to the entire community. (Labour and Capital. By Goldwin Smith, D.C.L. The Macmillan Company, New York. 50c., net.)

Mr. Root's Achievement

If the rehabilitation of China is due to the efforts of John Hay more than to any other single agency, it may be also claimed that the increasing friendship between North and South America is due, more than to any other cause, to the efforts of Mr. Hay's successor as Secretary of State, the Hon. Elihu Root. Among Americans, past and present, in enhancing amity between ourselves and the nations to the south of us, Mr. Root has been prominent in word and deed. His most notable accomplishment so far was the circumnavigation of South America last summer in a Government vessel, paying official visits to Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Panama, and Colombia. Mr. Root refrained from visiting the remaining South American countries, Paraguay, Bolivia, and Ecuador, because the distance of their capitals from the seaboard made it impracticable with the time at his disposal. Everywhere the American Secretary of State was received in the spirit of the message which he carried, one of peace, friendship, and of strong desire for good understanding and mutual helpfulness. But his addresses were listened to not only with the respect due to his official rank in the Government, but also because of admiration for Elihu Root the man—for the masterful, individual force of mind and character which had forged to the fore as the leader of his profession in the Nation. To students of present-day politics the well-printed volume which comprises the text of Mr. Root's speeches in South America is invaluable. An interesting Latin atmosphere is given to those speeches by the inclusion of the addresses of introduction or reply from eminent South American statesmen. (Speeches Incident to the Visit of Secretary Root to South America, July 4 to September 30, 1906. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.)

The Strang Etchings

The domain of art in general and of etchings in particular has received new and notable impulse by the work therein of William Strang. It is a satisfaction to all art-lovers that a collection of the Strang etchings has now been published, with an excellent prefatory account of them and their creator by Mr. Frank Newbolt. Like Mr. Newbolt, we would also call general attention to the striking quality of these pictures. If the etcher illuminates Biblical scenes, his work has a marked dignity, a simple, rather somber reverence; in portraiture the technique of the etchings is ever to the fore; in the landscapes there is an individual note not to be lost; finally, in the book illustrations we see even more graphically the artist's imagination, firmness, and finality. (Etchings of William Strang, A. R. A. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.50, net.)

Switzerland

The large page of this handsome volume enables the publishers to present in especially acceptable form Miss Jardine's interesting paintings, printed here, we rejoice to add, in colors attuned to nature and Swiss scenery rather than to startling art-color schemes, as has been the case occasionally with some recent books in which countries have been described by brush as well as pen. With very few exceptions these pictures can be cordially praised. We like also Mr. Rook's plan of treatment and division of his subject; he gives us neither an arid chronological history nor a descriptive guide-book, but takes up chapter by chapter for broad intelligent treatment such subjects as "Swiss Patriotism," "The Growth of a Republic," "The Swiss Government," "Popular Control," "Winter Sports," "The Swiss as Engineer." Each subject, whether serious or light, is treated in appropriate vein and with evidence of knowledge and discrimination. (Switzerland: The Country and Its People. By Clarence Rook. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $5.)

Vittoria Colonna

The love of friendship and the love of literature are frequently found together. The devotees of the latter are specially apt to have a fondness for the former. While prizing their hours of solitude and meditation, they find, when not really reclusive, their true ideal of society not in the world or in its crowds, but in intimate, responsive association with their close friends. We see this among men of letters of our own day, and it has always marked many literary personalities. It was particularly so during Renaissance times, with their humanistic point of view. One does not always realize the special, subtle appeal of that period of history as being specially due to the fact that it emphasized a time when the appreciation of friendship and poetry by men and women went hand in hand. This becomes evident when we recall some of the really important Renaissance characters—Reginald Pole, Juan de Valdés, Michelangelo, Sadoleto, Bembo, Ochino, Gaspara Stampa, Pompeo Colonna, above all, Vittoria Colonna, who was the friend of all the above

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named. The friendship which existed between her and Michelangelo, for instance, may take its place as a model for any such relation between man and woman. It seems strange that in the latest biography of Vittoria Colonna but twenty pages should be devoted to such a historic friendship. We also regret to find the inclusion of but one of Michelangelo's sonnets to Vittoria and one of his madrigals. Many of Vittoria's own sonnets, however, are included. They testify to her ideals of life, to her literary equipment, and to the literary forms of her time. For a woman whose character was clear and convincing her verse seems singularly stiff and conventional. Perhaps, however, it intensifies a certain quality of aloofness not surprising in one who took herself very seriously. But it was a sublime seriousness which distinguished her from the possibly more brilliant celebrated women of Italy. Those who have enjoyed Mr. Christopher Hare's "Famous Women of the Renaissance" and Mrs. Ady's more notable volumes on the women of the House of Este can appreciate the contrast between the sparkling and at times butterfly-like Este princesses, and the reserve, the solidity, the lofty and crystalline character of the Colonna princess. While this latest biography of Vittoria Colonna lacks some of the grace of Mrs. Ady's studies, it is a book full of charm and inspiration, one well reproducing the mellow Renaissance atmosphere enveloping the woman who has not unjustly been called the intellectual and moral leader of her time. As her latest biographer well says:

> She was indeed a woman to be proud of—untouched by scandal, unspoiled by praise, incapable of any ungenerous action, unconvicted of one uncharitable word. . . . Here was a woman perfectly equipped for the journey of life, fully developed on all sides, whose religion being allied with intelligence was at once more powerful and more interesting; whose faith was as stimulating intellectually as it was spiritually satisfying; whom a wide culture and a great charity delivered from all narrowness of mind and heart.

(Vittoria Colonna. By Maud F. Jerrold. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $4, net.)

Letters to The Outlook

PROFESSOR FERNOW AND THE ADIRONDACKS

Theoretically, the State lands ought to be cared for under forestry principles—culling out the scrub and mature timber, planting profitable species, and bringing the woods to a condition which would yield the State a steady, even an increasing, income as the years roll up.

Practically, we are utterly unable to trust the politicians. The Adirondack logger cuts the best timber, takes no measure to replace it, and the chopping he leaves behind him is a waste. Cultivation by a real forester would improve the forest crop, not deteriorate it; but I do not know of one Adirondack tract of land that has not been "skinned" instead of "culled." There are now millions of feet of pulp logs lying on State land in the town of Wilmurt, cut down by pulp thieves whose work was sanctioned by bribe-taking game-wardens. The wardens, the timber thieves, and the men who shared the bribe money are not yet punished, nor likely to be, though it is now two years since the saws did their work. If this could be done in spite of the State Constitution, what would be the result if the restriction was lifted ever so little?

Professor Fernow, a trained forester, was in charge of the Cornell College of Forestry at Axton, and I have been to some pains trying to understand why the experiment failed. It was a supreme opportunity to demonstrate "practical forestry," and the first thing, practically, done by the College was to enter into a contract by which it was obliged to deliver 49-inch hardwood, at two dollars a cord, in the yard of a wood alcohol factory, and hardwood logs at seven dollars a thousand, also delivered. It cost more to cut than the College got for it.

Here was Professor Fernow's great error. At the outset of the work, with 30,000 acres of Adirondack hardwood free of encumbrance, so-called practical forestry proved itself incapable of making a bargain equal to that of the ordinary Adirondack log jobber. This alone was enough to bring ridicule on "practical forestry." For sixteen years I lived within eighty rods of a wood alcohol factory whose owner has grown constantly wealthier making hardwood retort products—and this from only 4,000 acres of hardwood of the same kind as that controlled by the College. The College tried to demonstrate to just such a kind of man how to make forestry more profitable, more practical, and less wasteful!

The first chopping was made alongside the camp sites of summer people on Upper Saranac Lake. The campers came by thousands to the lake for the "woods," not for open choppings, however profitable they

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might be. Thus were antagonized the "summer people," who are less interested in forestry than in having a playground.

And, be it observed, Professor Fernow's idea was first to destroy completely the stand of trees on the College land, and then replace it with a new forest. Of course, forestry authorities, Gifford, for instance, say that it is better to remove a scrub forest completely, and plant to profitable varieties. But the State had more than seventy thousand acres of burnings and barrens which could have been planted without interfering with the "weed" trees. The College would have saved money by taking those waste lands instead of the forest, but it chose the best large tract of Adirondack land that was offered for sale—for destruction!

However, I am not sure that the College was free to choose just what Professor Fernow wanted. The Cornell tract was purchased from a pulp company, and pulp companies have proved themselves exceedingly powerful in Adirondack matters.

There is not a man in the State who has not reason for regretting the failure of this experiment, loggers most of all. The State needed some one to show how wastes and weed forests could be handled with present profit and future increase. But this "practical forestry" wasted the forest which it had, and looked seventy-five years into the future for its profit. (Beginnings of Professional Forestry in the Adirondacks, p. 6.)

A point that has not been covered by the storage reservoir opposition is the fact that by planting trees on the barrens and skinned lands of the Adirondacks every purpose desired by the reservoir advocates would be fulfilled—save one, the privilege of skinning the reservoir sites. It would cost less to plant the trees than it would to build cement dams, and every one of the objections urged against the reservoir ponds would be met; slimy overflows, destroyed forest, unsightly shore fronts, unhabitable shore fronts, would all be prevented by forest soil reservoirs, while the streams would be better regulated than by dams.

RAYMOND S. SPEARS.

Little Falls, New York.

SHIP SUBSIDIES

There is one argument on the anti-subsidy side of the American shipping question which, while referred to in your article published in the number for March 9, was hardly given its due weight, for it is the controlling factor in the problem. The chief obstacle in the way of a resuscitation of the American merchant marine is the great cost of American-built ships. A freight steamer of moderate speed, having a carrying capacity of 6,000 tons, can be built in England on the Tyne at a cost of from $37 to $40 per ton, or say $240,000. Three years ago a contract could have been made to have such a steamer delivered, ready for sea, for $150,000, or at the rate of $25 per ton, but in the interval there has been an advance in the cost both of labor and of materials. In this country the contract price for such a vessel would be from $80 to $90 per ton, or, on the lower basis, $480,000.

This difference in the initial cost has the effect of imposing the following handicap upon the American ship merchant. He has $240,000 of excess investment which must be taken care of before he can begin to compete on equal terms with his foreign competitors. The excess earning which must be made before conditions of equality are reached is represented by these items:

Depreciation, 8 per cent	$19,200
Annual marine insurance, 7 per cent	16,800
Interest on investment, 5 per cent	12,000
	$48,000

In other words, the owner of the American-built vessel would be compelled to earn ten per cent. more upon his entire investment than would be necessary for the owner of the foreign-built vessel in order that each might receive equal returns. It is impossible successfully to carry on any large business operation when laboring under such a disability. The greater cost of maintenance is an insignificant circumstance. Fifty years ago the wages and keep on American merchant ships were twice what they were on British ships; but at that time our merchant craft cost less to build than the English vessels, and we had little difficulty in competing with transatlantic rivals. Give to American ship merchants, by the repeal of existing restrictive laws, the opportunity to buy low-cost vessels, and a quick and healthy restoration of the American merchant marine will take place. Those who demand subsidies assert that if such an opportunity were given our ship merchants, these would not take advantage of it; but that those who say this do not believe what they affirm is made evident by their vehement opposition to the repeal of our registration laws, a resistance which would not be shown if they were confident that our people would not purchase low-cost foreign-built vessels.

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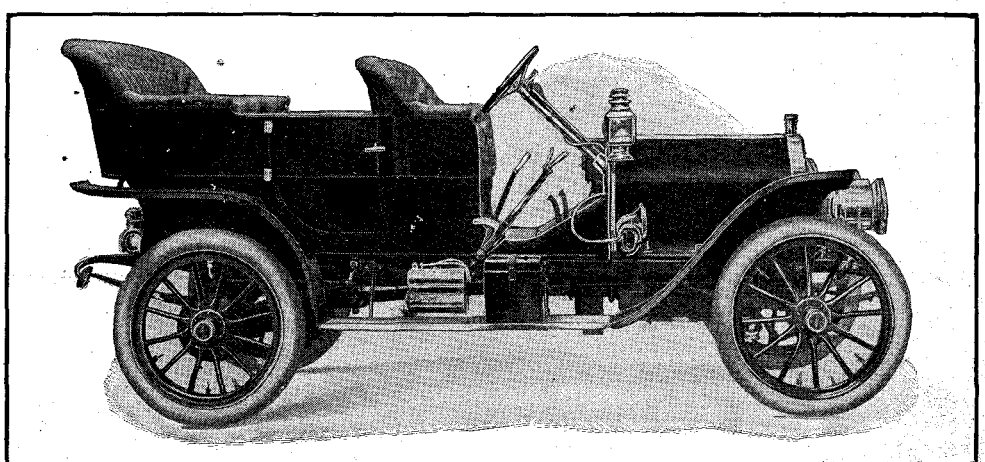

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A FRIENDLY GROCER

Dropped a Valuable Hint About Coffee

"For about eight years," writes a Mich. woman, "I suffered from nervousness—part of the time down in bed with nervous prostration.

"Sometimes I would get numb and it would be almost impossible for me to speak for a spell. At others, I would have severe bilious attacks, and my heart would flutter painfully when I would walk fast or sweep.

"I have taken enough medicine to start a small drug store, without any benefit. One evening our grocer was asking Husband how I was, and he urged that I quit coffee and use Postum, so he brought home a pkg. and I made it according to directions and we were both delighted with it.

"So we quit coffee altogether and used only Postum. I began to get better in a month's time and look like another person, the color came back to my cheeks, I began to sleep well, my appetite was good and I commenced to take on flesh and become interested in everything about the house.

"Finally I was able to do all my own work without the least sign of my old trouble. I am so thankful for the little book, 'The Road to Wellville.' It has done me so much good. I haven't taken medicine of any kind for six months and don't need any.

"A friend of ours who did not like Postum as she made it, liked mine, and when she learned to boil it long enough, hers was as good as mine. It's easy if you follow directions." Name given by Postum Company, Battle Creek, Mich. Read the little book, "The Road to Wellville," in pkgs. "There's a reason."

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The business of the Industrial Savings and Loan Company does not appeal to the speculatively inclined, but careful investors seeking a fair return on their savings while being assured of their safety will do well to write for full particulars of our investment which pays

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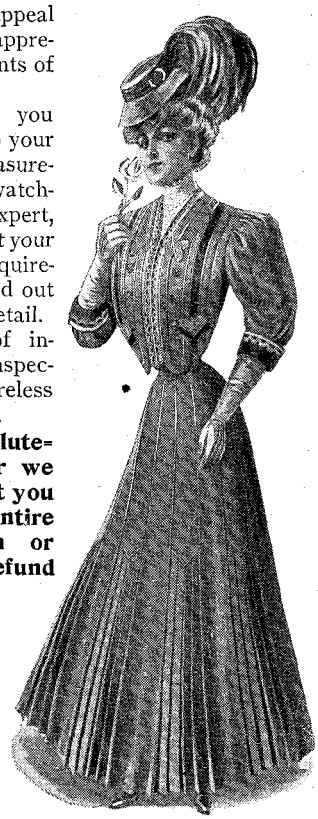

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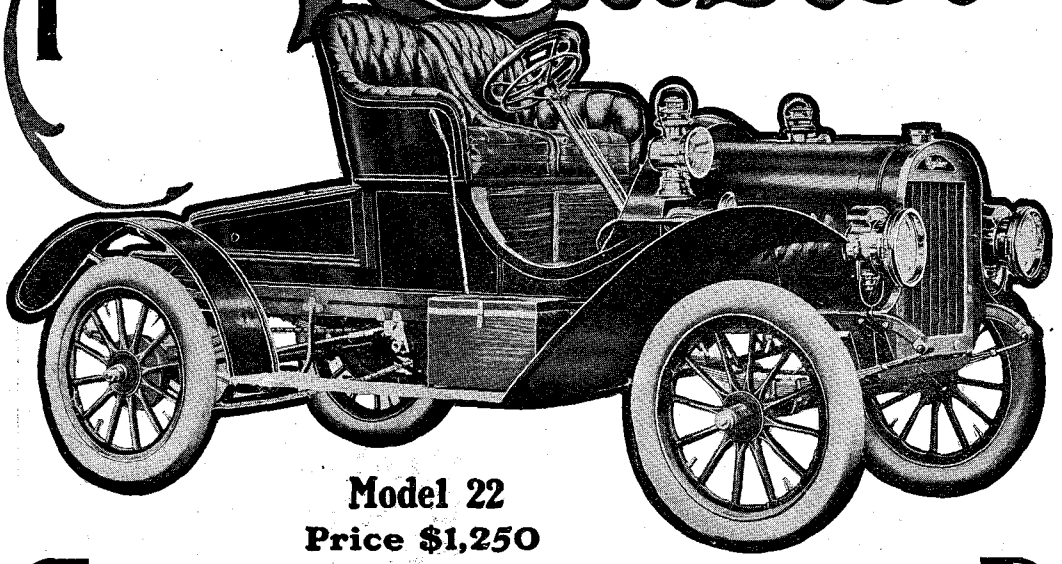

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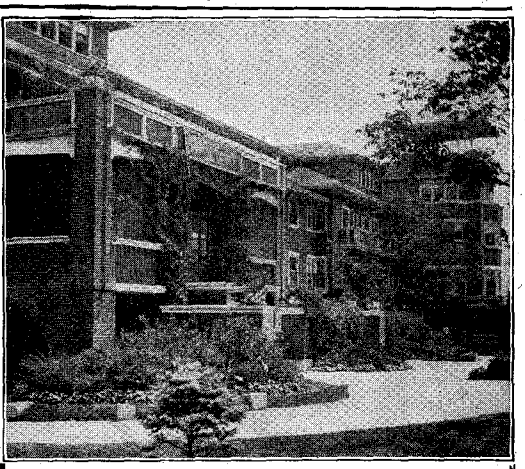

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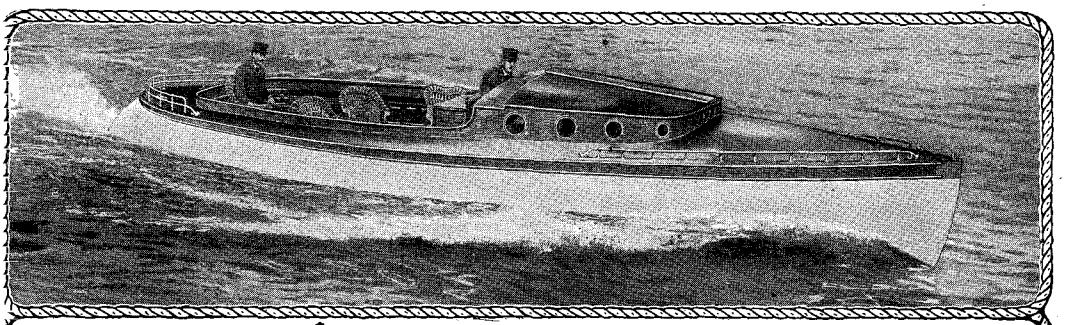

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They are built of smooth, pressed steel plates, with air chambers in each end like a life boat. The smooth, steel hull has handsome lines, and glides through the water with the least possible resistance—they are faster, more durable, and safer—they don't crack, leak, dry out or sink—are elegant in design and finish.

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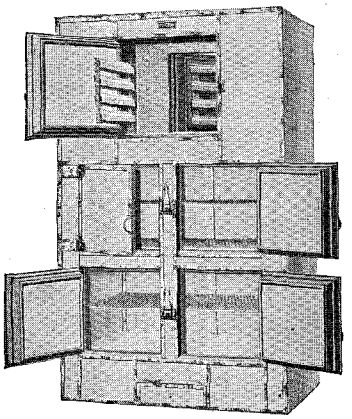

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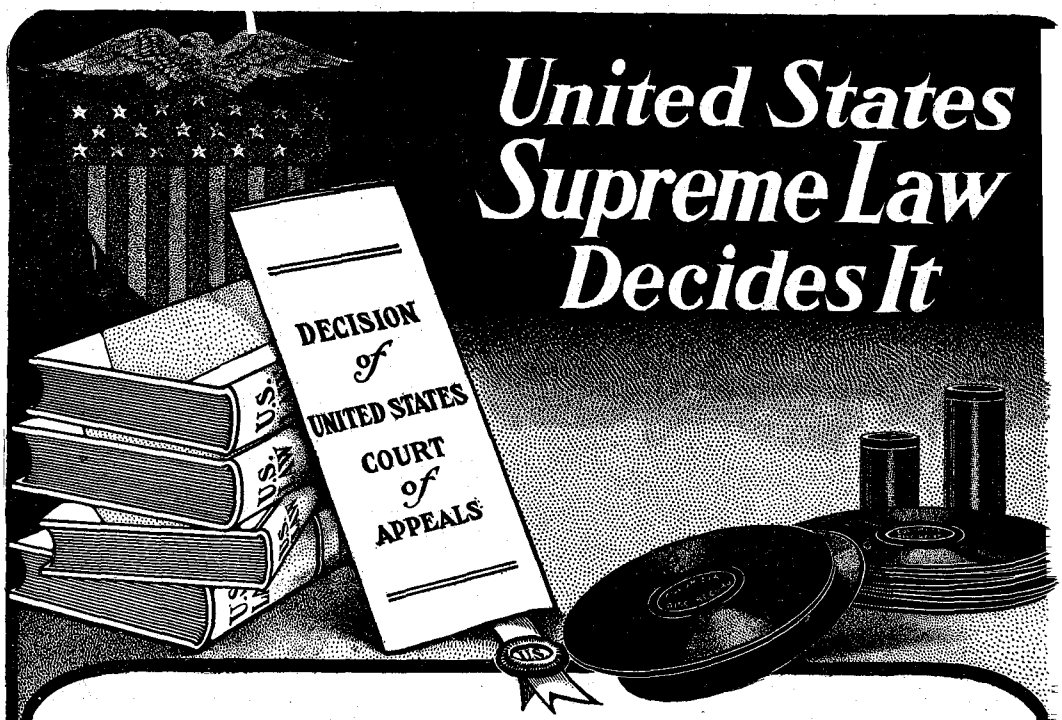

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LADY of experience desires position as manager of large house for summer; seashore or mountains. 6,229, Outlook.

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YOUNG English lady desires post as companion or governess. Country preferred. 6,342, Outlook.

REV. Dr. Houghton commends a young lady from Canada who desires position as companion. 6,340, Outlook.

REFINED lady desires position as *companion to elderly lady. References exchanged.* Address 6,348, Outlook.

REFINED, experienced managing housekeeper wishes position, school, institution; or as companion. 6,339, Outlook.

GRADUATE STUDENT at Yale desires position of companion or tutor to boys during summer months. European travel preferred. Experienced teacher. Good references. 6,345, Outlook.

WANTED—Position as managing housekeeper in widower's home where one or two servants are kept, by cheerful, cultured woman, reliable and conscientious. Experienced in housekeeping and with children. References exchanged. 6,331, Outlook.

POSITION as companion or secretary. Would travel. Recent seminary graduate. References. Box 14, Swanton, Maryland.

YOUNG woman, college graduate, very entertaining, desires position for summer, after May 15th, as companion, governess, or assistant in camp. 6,316, Outlook.

WANTED.—A lady wishes to secure position as companion, or courier, for her former companion of ten years. Experienced traveler. Excellent references given. Reply 6,323, Outlook.

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BARNARD College student desires position as traveling companion during summer. 6,309, Outlook.

SUCCESSFUL nurse wants nervous patient; refined, companionable; would travel. Exceptional references. 6,297, Outlook.

YOUNG lady desires position as companion during summer; will travel. 6,327, Outlook.

WANTED—Position for autumn as upstairs housekeeper or assistant matron in school or institution. REFERENCES. 6,325, OUTLOOK.

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GRADUATE nurse wishes to take an invalid lady abroad. Salary not first consideration. 6,161, Outlook.

COLLEGE man desires position of companion or tutor to boys going abroad, during summer months. References. Address "Yale," 6,013, Outlook.

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PRINCETON MAN, now in college, wishes to act during the summer as tutor or companion. Best of references furnished. John Kirkpatrick, Princeton, N. J.

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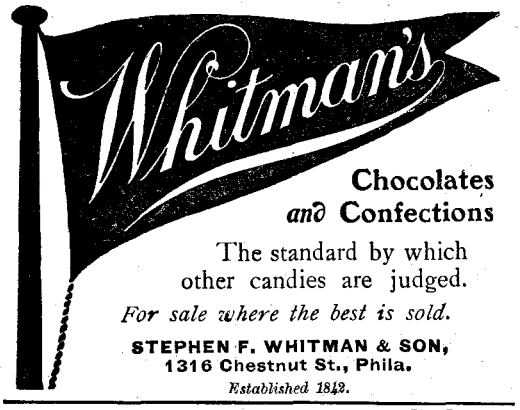

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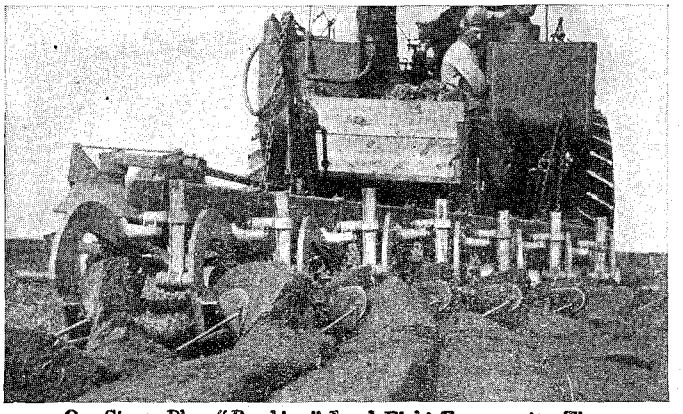

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We have subdivided a large tract of choice land in Saskatchewan, near the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, four miles south of Estevan, into farms of 10 to 160 acres. We have issued a coupon on each acre for its exact value, $20. When you have paid us $20 you get a coupon for one acre. When you get ten coupons you will receive title to ten acres or multiple thereof. Titles guaranteed. This land will probably sell for $50 an acre a few years hence.

Earning Capacity of	**10**	**acres**	**-**	**-**	**$130.00 a year**
" " "	**100**	"	**-**	**-**	**1,300.00** "
" " "	**1000**	"	**-**	**-**	**13,000.00** "

Two crops will more than pay for the land. Those who want a crop this year must send their first payment at once. No land can be bought and put under cultivation this year later than May fifteenth. Write to-day. The publishers of this magazine can tell you about us.

You Don't Have to Go to Canada

to realize on your investment or to cultivate the land. We will do that for you as well as market your crops, provided you will give us half of the profits. We have all the machinery, including steam plows (one shown above), horses, etc., with which we are putting hundreds of acres under cultivation each year. We have spent thousands of dollars for machinery and equipment. We ask you to put your money into land, which increases in value, while we are willing to put ours into machinery, which depreciates, to get one-half of the profits you give us. In order to make money ourselves we have got to make money for you. There is no speculation. References and credentials furnished. We reserve the right to reject any application not satisfactory to us.

Saskatchewan Mutual Development Company

1 Madison Avenue, New York

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COMMISSIONER JAMES S. HARLAN
said at the conclusion of the
United States Interstate Commerce Commission
session held in Minneapolis last December:

"This is the country, it seems to me, that is going to do things from now on. The investigation has presented a panoramic view of its resources, its people, its wealth and possibilities that has made a deep impression upon my mind.

"If the Interstate Commerce Commission investigation has not revealed anything else, it has proved that the **greatest thing** in the **United States is the Northwest."**

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Out. 4-13

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FACTS ABOUT BUSINESS PROPERTY

Facts

The information about improved central business property, which we have gathered in such cities as New York, Pittsburg, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Seattle, Los Angeles, Spokane, Portland, points to *facts* of particular value to investors. It will be natural to discount these facts on the theory that they are colored to our advantage. The *facts* are to our advantage and likewise to yours, but they are not colored. This information definitely establishes these *facts*.

1. That all centrally located business property in our established commercial cities grows in value steadily every year.

2. That most of the centrally located business property in our established Western cities doubles in value every ten to fifteen years, and that even in the older and slower-growing cities of the East and Central West there is a growth in ground value averaging all the way from 4% to 8% per annum.

3. That the rental earnings of such business property pay a net return of from 5 to 6½% per annum, and, further, that the rental return of this business property, like the value of the property, is steadily on the increase.

4. That the owners of business property have an income-producing investment of larger earning power than that produced by any other investment.

5. That income derived from the rent of business property is more dependable than that coming from any other source, for the very good reason that *rent comes first.*

6. That as a heritage to leave for the protection of families nothing compares with central business property, either for safety or earning power.

Reasons

The reasons for the foregoing facts are many; among them are the following:

First: Business Property is real, tangible property; fixed, visible, and understandable.

Second: It is a public necessity. The exchanges of the necessaries of life cannot be carried on without using it. For the right to carry on exchanges of the necessaries of life, the business community pays rent to the landlord. As the entire population uses business property, the entire population pays the business man's rent. Taxes cannot be paid if *Rent* is not paid first. *Rent therefore is first.*

Third: As the population increases, the use of business property increases; the *more* it is used, *the more rent is paid.* Every year the revenue from business property increases; every year its value increases.

The *double earning power of business property*, that is the *regular rental earning* combined with the *yearly increase in value*, exceeds the returns from any other safe investment.

The *shop-worn rule* that to have safety you must have low earning power is violated by Centrally Located Business Property. Safety is not determined by earning power. Earning power to you is the result of good judgment in making investments. If you would have safety, invest in something that is public necessity, something that you can see, something that you can know all about, and *become an actual owner of what you do buy.*

If you own property with high earning power, you need have no anxiety about its safety. Safety of an investment in business property is determined by four things, viz., intelligent selection, the purchase price, freedom from encumbrance, and judicious management.

A Test

Ask any owner of a business block in the heart of a vigorous city if he would sell it and lend his money or invest it in some other class of property. *His answer will assure you that business property is the best investment.*

If you thoroughly investigate the merits of business property as an investment, you will find *all these to be facts* and select it as the investment for your capital, as we have selected it for the investment of our capital, because of its safety and great earning power.

Another Fact

We enable you to invest in specific business properties about which you are given complete information.

We offer you unencumbered ownership of central business property, for we divide specific pieces of business property, always free of encumbrance, into units for the purpose of individual investment.

The central business properties offered are located within the thoroughly established business districts of Seattle, Los Angeles, and Spokane (where there is no speculation), properties that *will pay you net from 5 1-2 to 6 1-2% from rentals, and grow in value steadily every year.*

Without enumerating them, it is pertinent for us to say that not one of the objections which apply to investments in stocks or bonds of corporate enterprises obtain against investment in business property located in the heart of the crowded business district of our vigorous American cities.

There is no mystery of business invention about what we offer; it is simply ownership of business property unencumbered, divided into units.

Looking first to the *immediate earning power* of your capital, second to the investment that is *best to leave for protection of your family*, you will find it in the unencumbered ownership of business property offered to you by our companies.

We can, however, present to you, if you so desire, *facts which will be of first interest and moment to you, and we will do so upon request.*

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